In Praise of
Aihole · Badami · Mahakuta · Pattadakal

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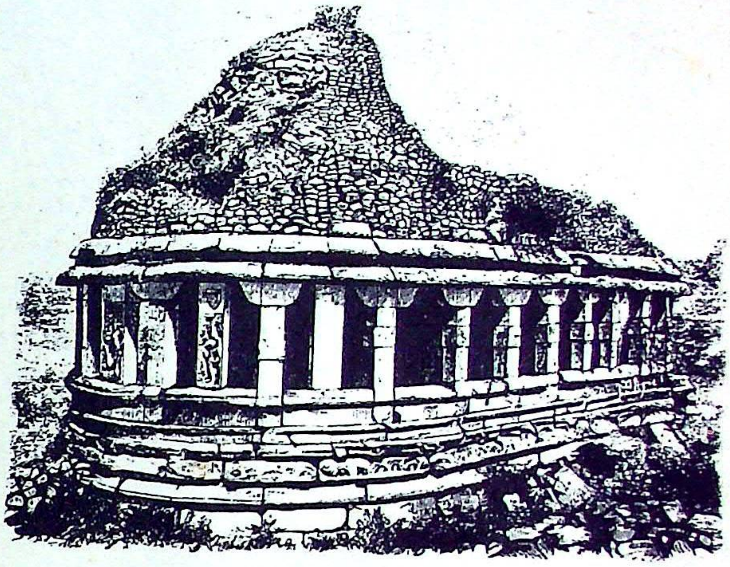

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Aihole · Badami · Mahakuta · Pattadakal

Manzoor Ahmed Dolkoo (M.I.L
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In Praise of
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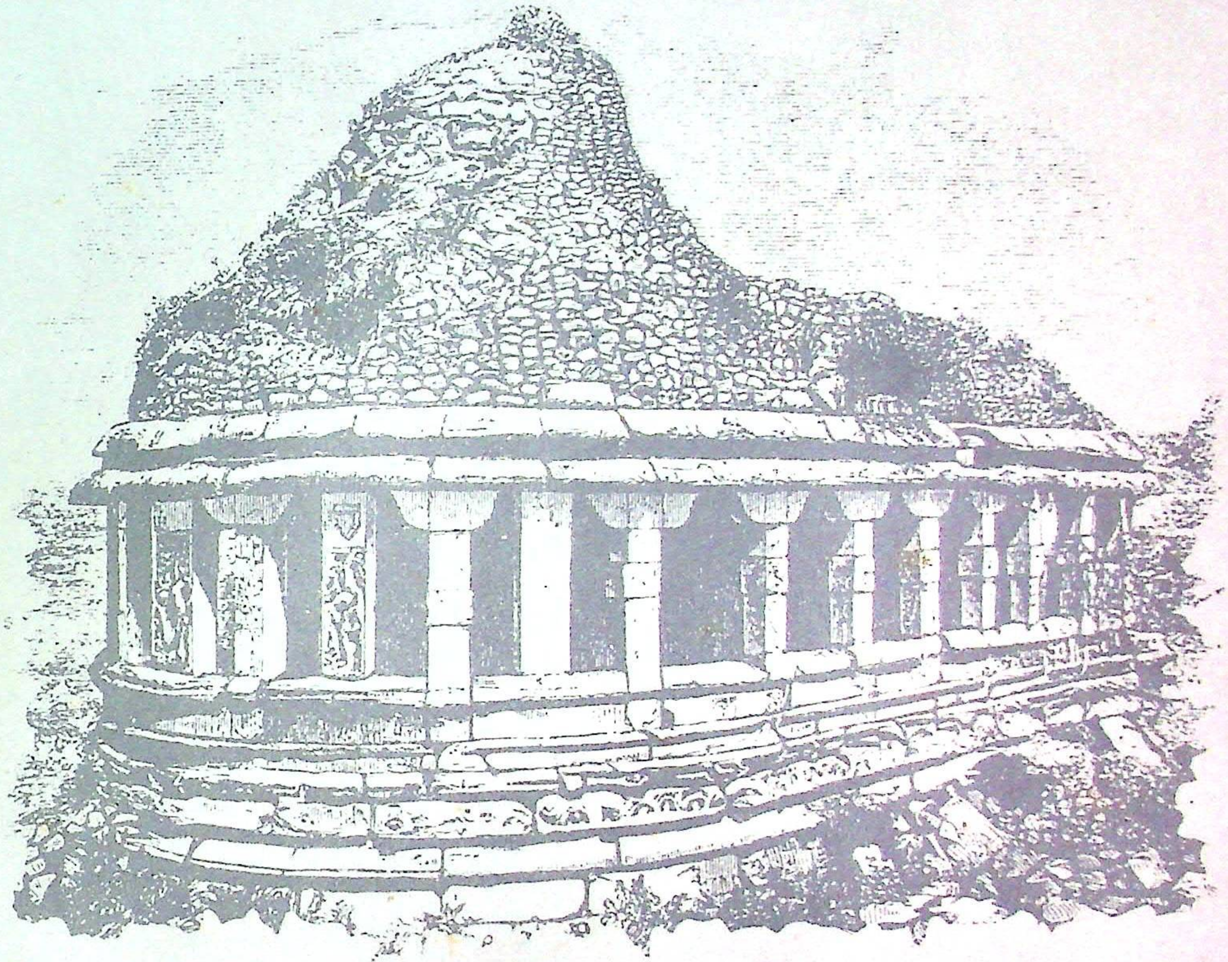

Badami · Mahakuta · Pattadakal

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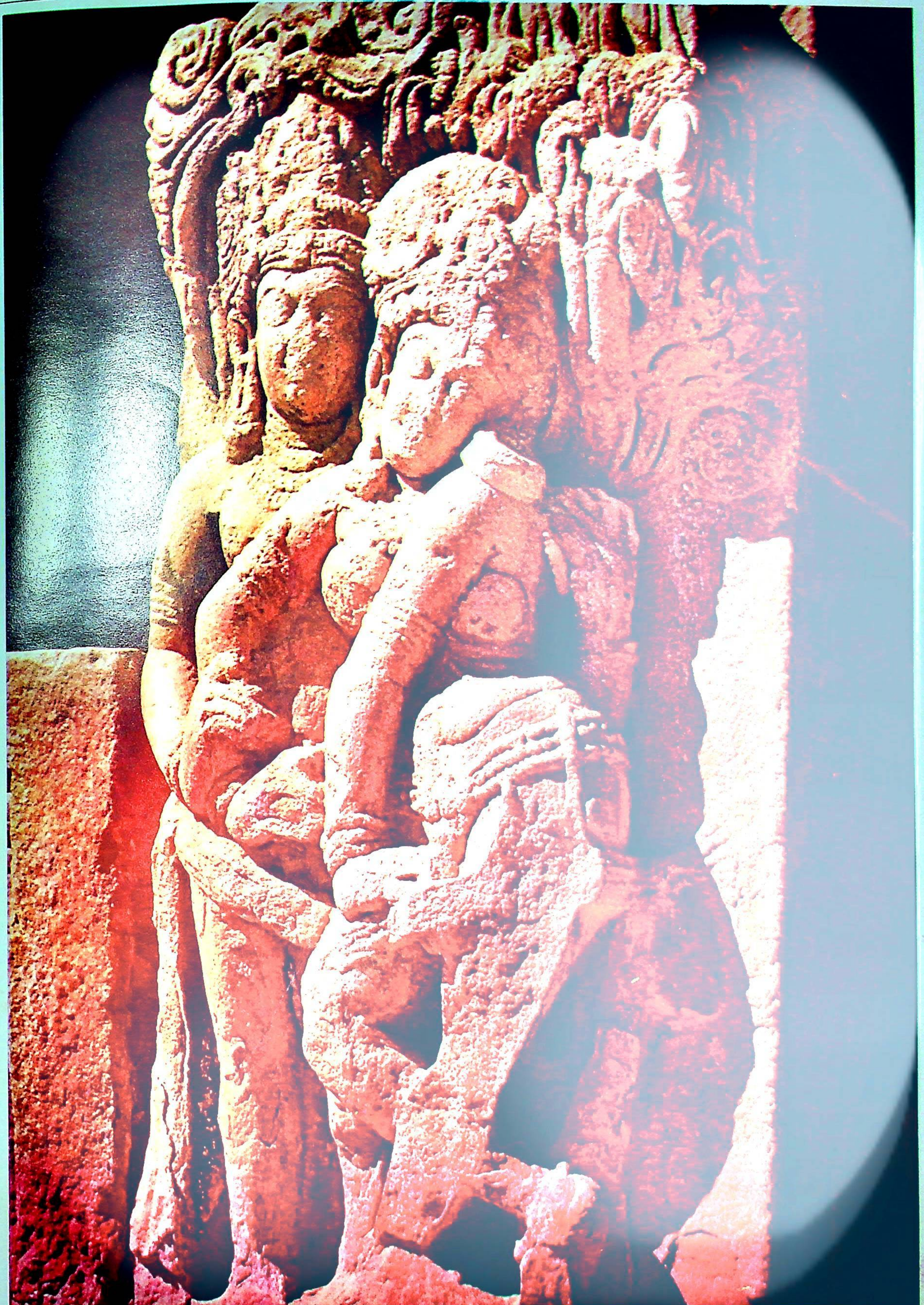
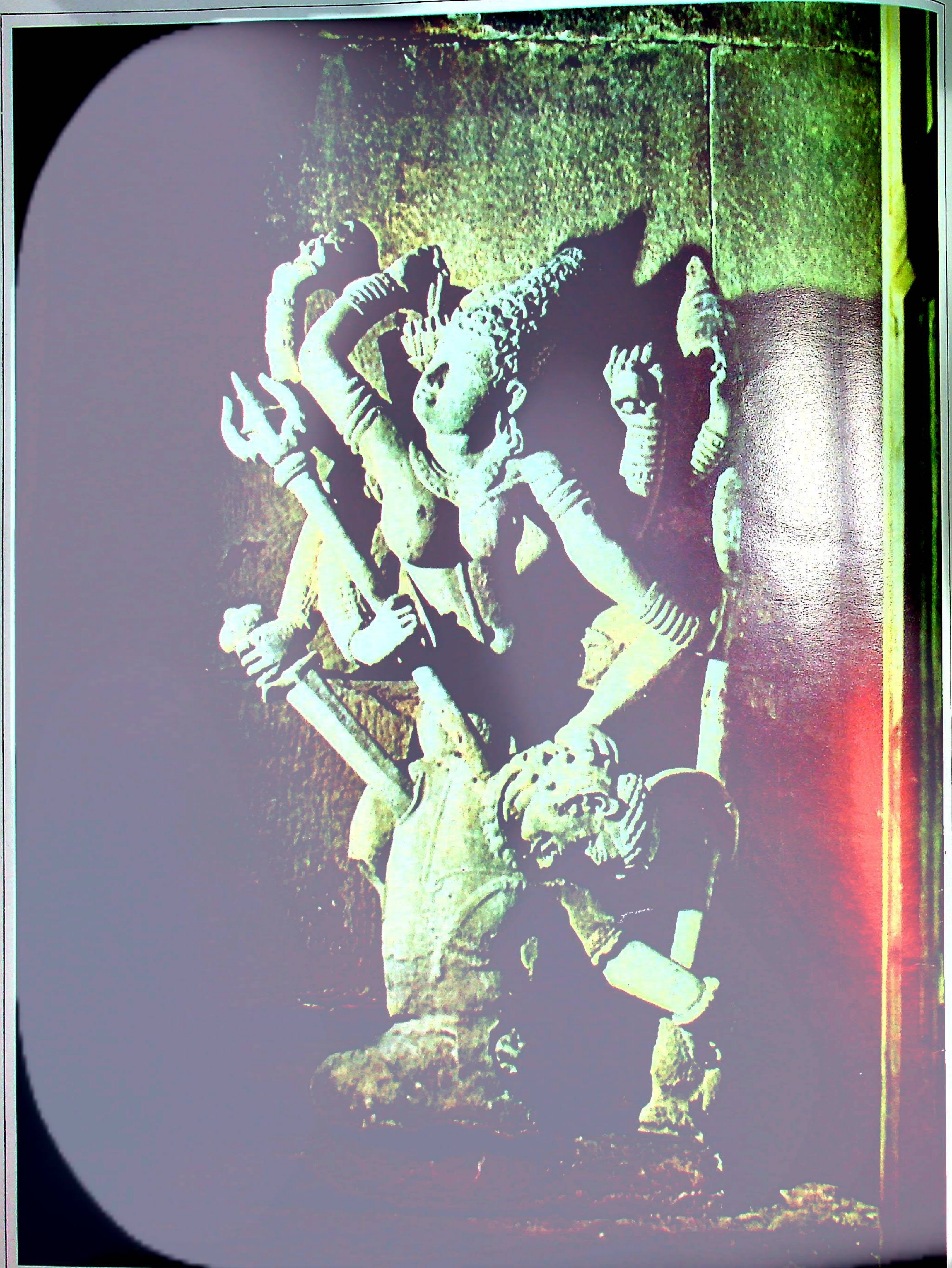


Mithuna Couple, Lad Khan Temple, Aihole
Western Chalukyan, 6th century A.D.



Mahishasuramardini, Mallikarjuna Temple, Pattadakal.
Western Chalukyan, 6th century A.D.

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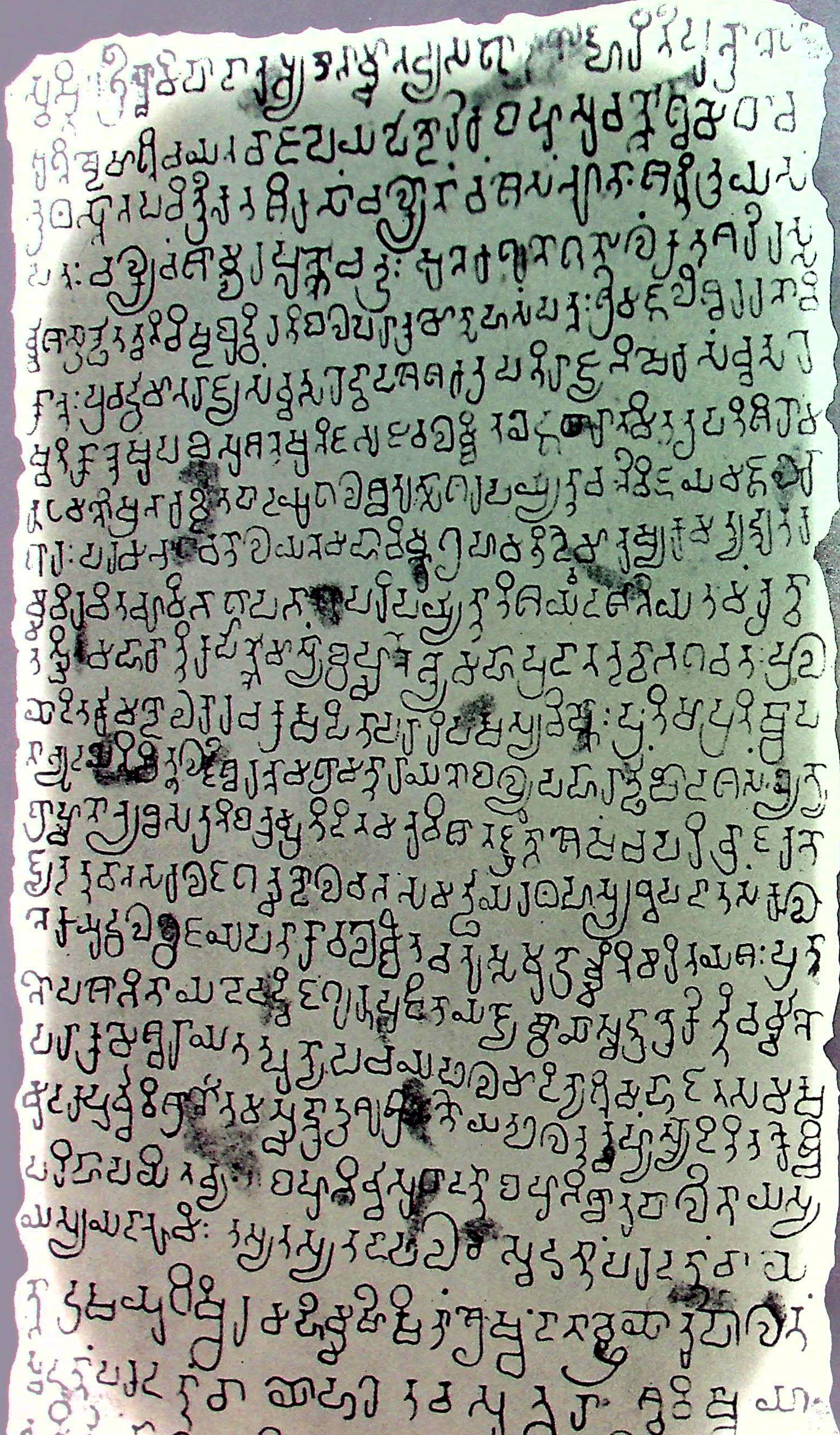
MARG takes pride in the assemblage of an international team of interpreters of the Western Chalukyan monuments. We owe deep gratitude to Dr. S. Settar, one of the few dynamic professors of art history; to George Michell, professional architect turned interpreter and visualiser; Carmel Berkson, who projects her imagination into the past from a contemporary sensibility.

The photographers, Lance Dane, David May, Jeffery Gorbeck and Carmel Berkson spent long periods absorbing the myriad forms of the monuments and have tried to recreate, both in outline and detail, the face of glory of the Chalukyan Heritage.

COVER:
Reproduction of an etching of the Mallikarjuna and the Kashivishveeraya temples as they appeared over a hundred years ago. *Photo: Lance Dane*

Design and Layout: Dolly Sahiar



This inscription from Cave III, Badami, was copied by James Burgess in 1884 A.D. It tells of the construction of the Caves by Mangalesha.

In Praise of Aihole, Badami, Mahakuta and Pattadakal

As one goes through the folds of the hills and valleys
beyond the Malaprabha river and turns on to the arc of uprises,
which reveal the ochre-coloured shrines of Aihole,
one is lifted from the ordinary self to the euphoria of happiness
and one exclaims: What beauties! What splendours! What marvels!

The same echoes arise as the temples of Pattadakal
emerge to view beyond the sunmist.

And, again, before Mahakuta, where the approach is concealed
by the curvacious road and the walls of the compound
and the large trees under which the shrine nestles,
one is struck by the sense of mystery.

At Badami, one is shocked into the awareness of the genius
of the Chalukyas for siting, as they could see so much rock as so much sculpture
when it would be scooped out, and thus had carved
some of the finest cave temples in Bharatvarsha.

One feels more and more that it is the felt experience of these
ancient monuments, which is more inspiring than their exact dates.
For, apart from a few inscriptions, not much evidence is available
about who built what, how it all got built up at all, and why.

Only the achievement is there.
And the constructs suggest that, beyond the egoism of the
princes of the dynasty, who had cleared the jungles, conquered the villages
and built an empire, they perhaps wanted to communicate with the Gods,
with a view to become Gods themselves if possible,
and, certainly, to achieve salvation from the Samsara,
where they were occupied inevitably by the daily discords,
distractions and despairs, in piling up hoards
of grain, pearls, rubies, sapphires and gold.

Always, man has tried, in secret moments of awareness,
to get over the being-in-the-world situation
by fulfilling himself through prayers when he is weak,
through actions when his will is strong,
and by insight if he surpasses himself and has the vision
which he can incarnate into the future.

And just as there is the biological urge, which brings forth children
to whom men leave the material goods they have gained,
so he has the deeper inner urge to gain immortality
for himself, by leaving such important things which are more than himself
and that may have value for the future.

It is in the light of such human considerations,
which have affected some of the privileged men and women
of the past centuries in our country, that we can understand
how they gave abundantly from their resources to the craftsmen,
to create what they thought would be permanent shrines to the spirit,
in this impermanent world.

That these sepulchres of the gods have lasted even in ruins,
offers examples, not only of the vanity of princes,
but of man's ability to plan and fulfil himself,
even in his human condition, where death is inevitable
like the falling away of flowers from the tree of life,
which become part of the food for other plants to grow.

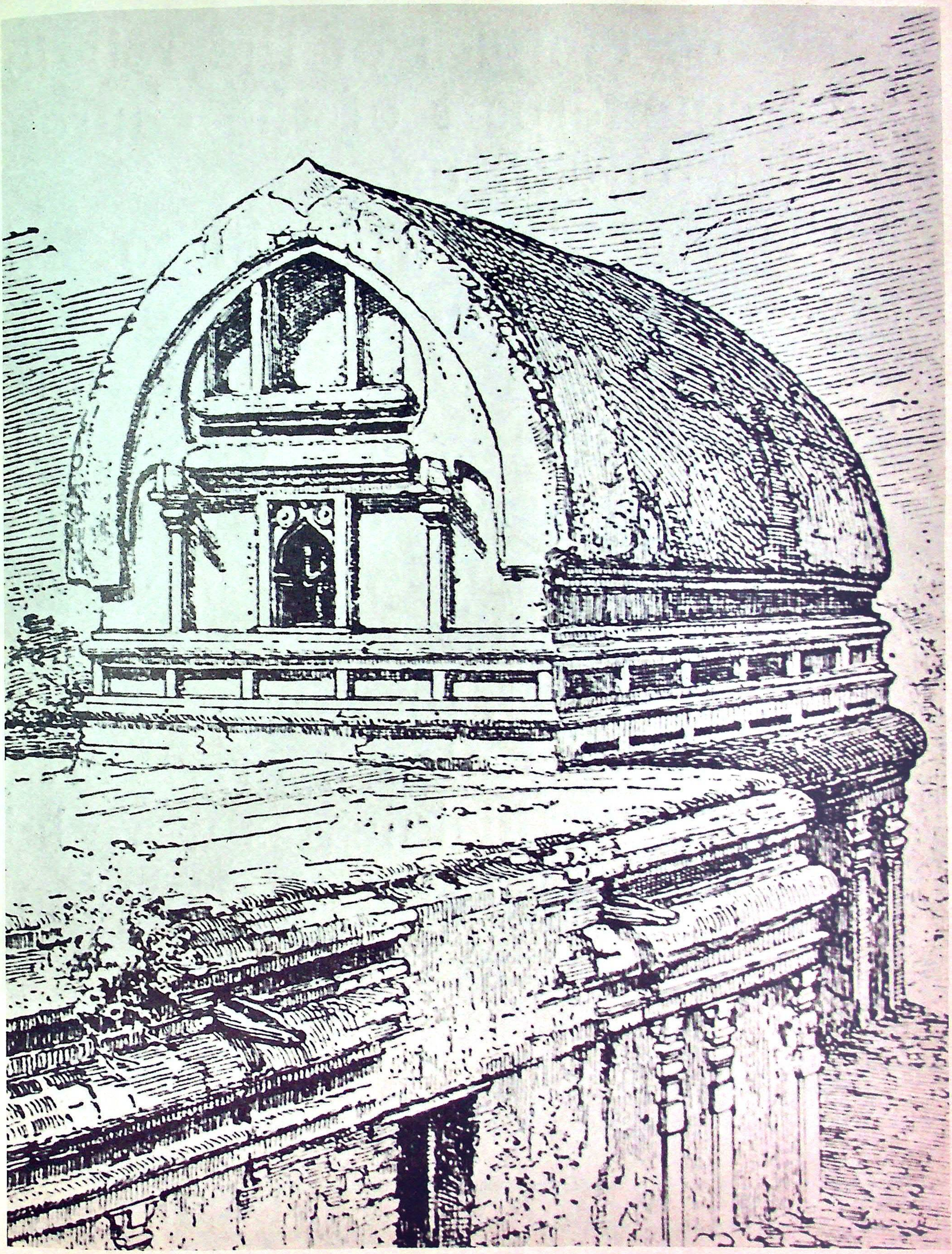
Like other small chieftains of the Deccan,
who came and conquered certain areas from their overlords,
ruled until they were overruled by rival chieftains,
but, unlike many of them, insofar as they dared to plan more efficiently,
and organised themselves brilliantly for their victories,
the Chalukyas rose from some obscure villages by the Tungabhadra river,
established themselves by the source of life in North Karnataka,
the Malaprabha river, annexed vast territories, under Pulakesin II,
lost their kingdom once or twice, but survived as a dynasty for some centuries.

Not many of their physical gains survived
during the subsequent centuries after they had prevailed.
But the spiritual power in most of their constructions
is still communicable to those who would go on a pilgrimage.

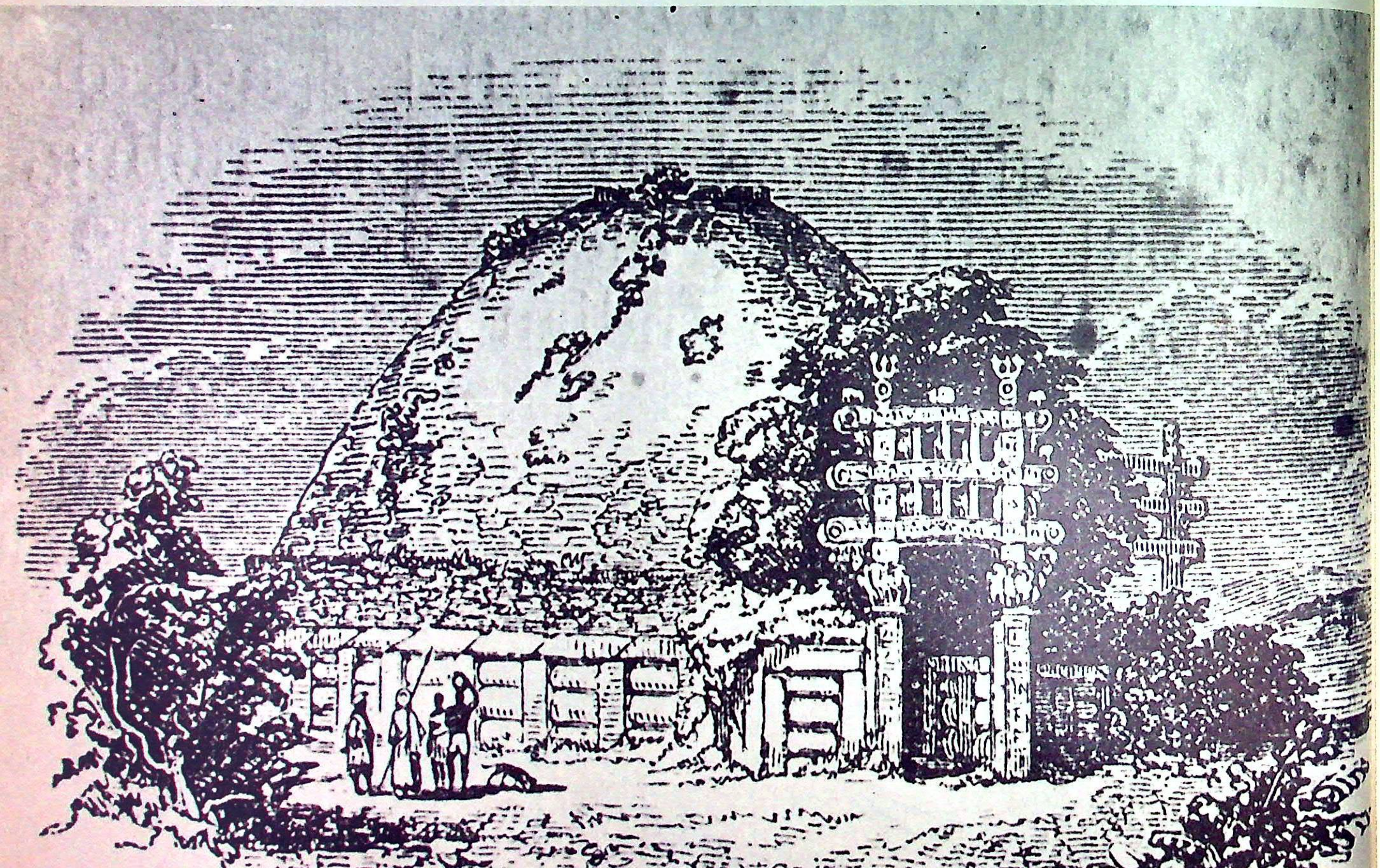
The temples trace their basic structural foundations to traditions
already set by the Satavahana kings of the then Andhra peoples,
who had themselves emerged from the enclave of Ter
to go and conquer central India upto Sanchi, Barhut and beyond.
In fact, the Satavahanas had built a few shrines in Aihole and Pattadakal
of which the plinths have been recently dug up.
And they had brought the impulses of the carvers of the Vindhyas,
as also enlisted the craftsmen of the Deccan.
And some of the myths, symbols, images and shrines
of the successors of the Satavahanas were obviously handed down
from father to son and son to son and thus inherited by the Chalukyas.

Only, what is important is that the West Chalukya dynasty seems,
by accident or design, to have assimilated,
into some kind of mixture, if not synthesis,
the ways of building structural temples,
which take on the northern Sikhara and weld it into the first layers
of the southern style.
Apart from this, their craftsmen incorporated the Buddhist apsidal plan,
and wall sculptures in relief, from their predecessors,
the Kalachuris and others of the early Ajanta and Ellora,
though the local situation of their own rock at Vatapi (Badami)
compelled a different kind of indigenous organic expression.

For praising the works done at Aihole, Mahakuta, Badami and Pattadakal,
we are urged, then, to pay homage to a pioneering dynasty which,
in spite of obvious borrowings, wished to build,
in their own experience, in local materials, through their own guilds of craftsmen,
shrines which put the sense of wonder in our eyes.



Ancient Buddhist Chaitya at Ter
(From a Photograph by H. Cousens)


GEO CHILDS SC

View of the great Tope at Sanchi, north-east side

The Continuity of Myths, Symbols and Images

In the vague glimmerings of early man there is already the urge to grope around and see who he is, where he has come from, and where he is going.

We can imagine our ape-like ancestors going out to gather fruit or hunt the beast or kill the birds for food. Before emerging from the cave for the perilous operation in the thick jungle, they needed to pray for success. So, in the earliest known cave shelters in Mirzapur, Bhimbetka and Hoshangabad, we find hunt scenes enacted on the walls, showing images of men with bows, arrows, spears and staves, charging at bisons, boars and other wild animals.

These were magical drawings done as a *Toona,* from the superstition: that if they could work up the passion for the hunt they would succeed in the kill.

Obsession with purpose seemed necessary to prevalence in the thick of the jungle, because they had to contend with the ghosts of the dead, the tree spirits, the snakes and eerie sounds everywhere.

Each of the spirits was made into a voodoo.

These voodoos later came to be appeased with offerings of blood sacrifice, of animals and even human beings—the blood being smeared on the forehead to carry on the person the power inspired by the spirit behind the magical artefact.

This kind of transference of power into the limbs was furthered through prayer before the symbol. The symbol became, later, the stone with the red daub, the crudely carved image, the amulet or charm, to woo the godlings, the ghosts, the hobgoblins and the howbatas.

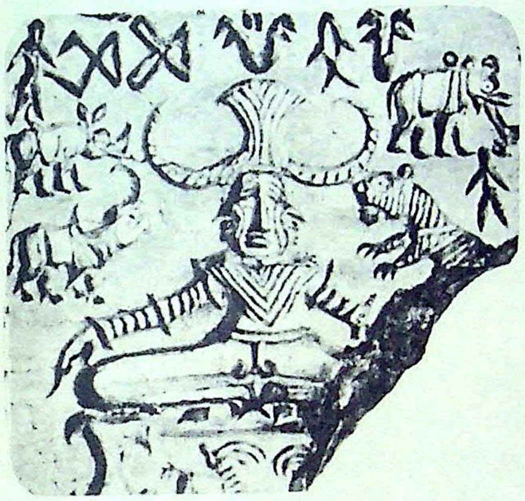
The myths were concocted around the images to reinforce the will. This was to ally the faint heart in the conquest of fear of the dread powers. The good gods were appeased by singing flattering hymns. The omnipotent God was proffered prayers.

As man evolved to awareness his need for inner and outer growth, he gradually spun many myths of gods and demons, until a pantheon arose, of many spiritual powers for personal worship.

The great mother, who had been the source of creation of the species, was one of the earliest images worshipped in fertility iconography, showing emphasised pudenda and breasts. She later became Durga and Kali, destroyer of the world before it is recreated. And she was reincarnated into various forms of goddesses—Saraswati, Saptamatrika and Chaushath Yognis.

Shiva was one of the earliest gods symbolising energy, potency and rhythm of the cosmos itself. At first he was somewhat despised for his wildness, but was later exalted to the position of the Supreme God by those who emphasised the energetic aspect of the divine.

1,2 Seals from Mohenjodaro
3 Mother Goddess from Bhuta, U.P.



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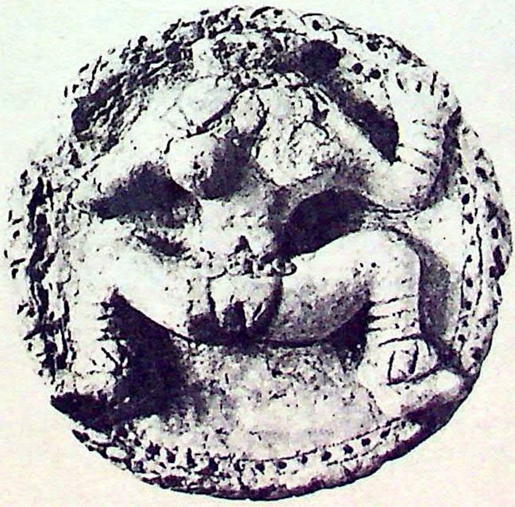

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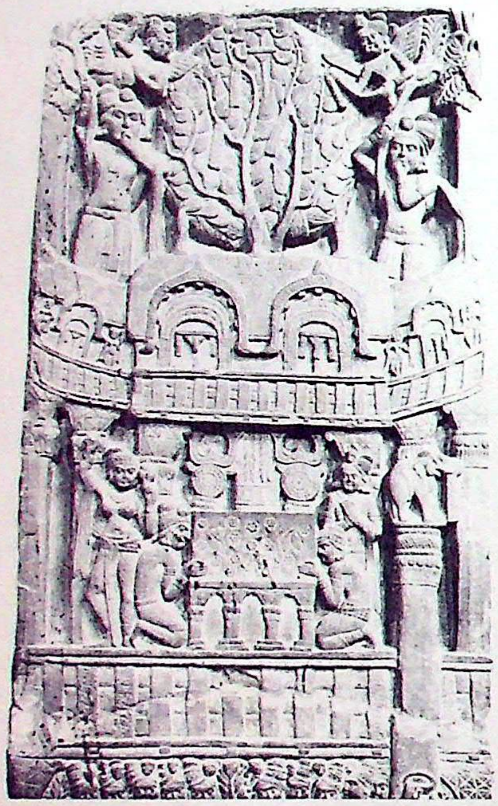
4 Relief from Barhut showing symbols of Bodhi tree, Chaityas, Trisulas and worshippers.
5 Miniature terracotta lion from Ter; Collection: B. R. Lamture
6 Lotus medallion from Barhut
7 Yakshi from Sanchi
8 Naga from Sanchi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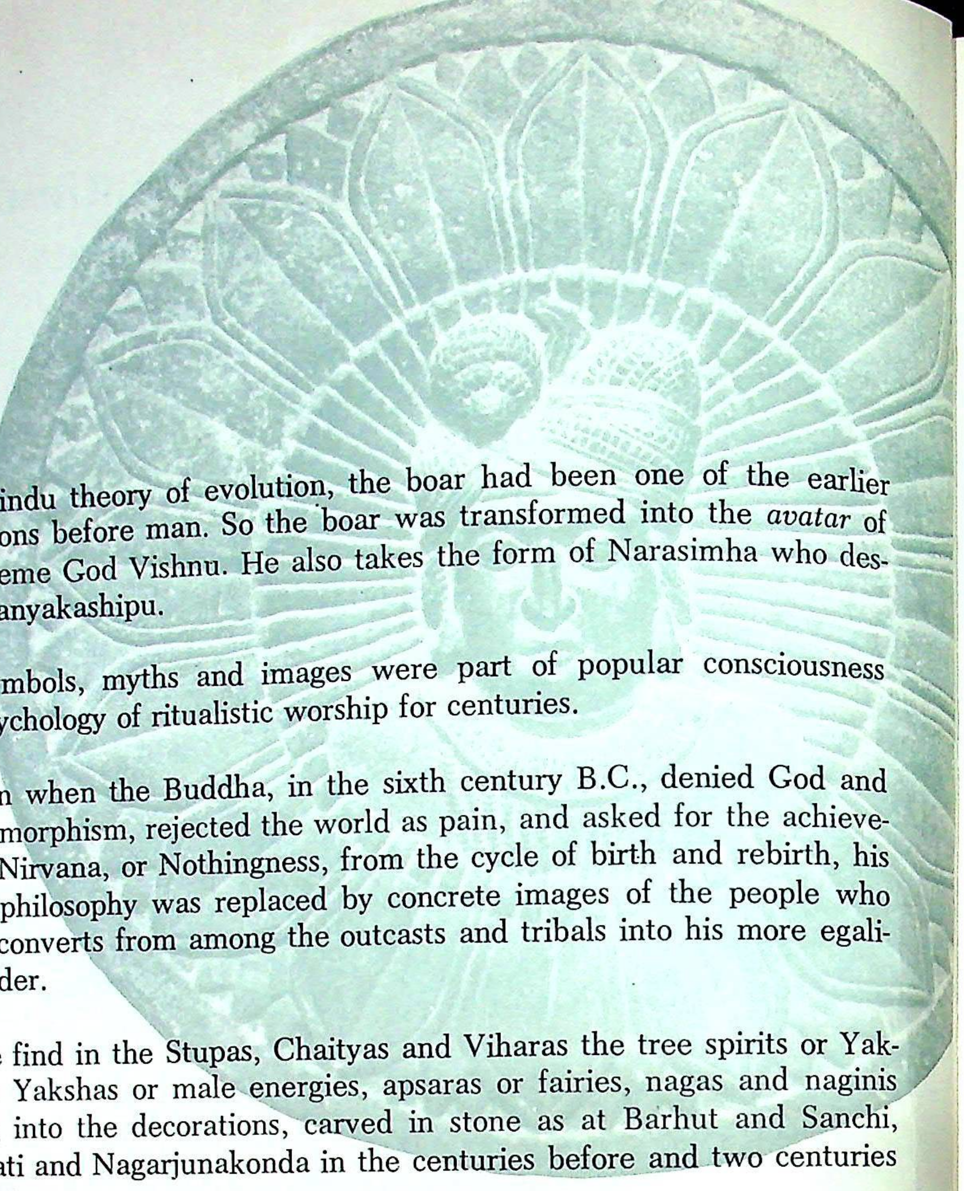


In the Hindu theory of evolution, the boar had been one of the earlier incarnations before man. So the boar was transformed into the *avatar* of the Supreme God Vishnu. He also takes the form of Narasimha who destroys Hiranyakashipu.

These symbols, myths and images were part of popular consciousness in the psychology of ritualistic worship for centuries.

And even when the Buddha, in the sixth century B.C., denied God and anthropomorphism, rejected the world as pain, and asked for the achievement of Nirvana, or Nothingness, from the cycle of birth and rebirth, his abstract philosophy was replaced by concrete images of the people who became converts from among the outcasts and tribals into his more egalitarian order.

Thus we find in the Stupas, Chaityas and Viharas the tree spirits or Yakshis, the Yakshas or male energies, apsaras or fairies, nagas and naginis creeping into the decorations, carved in stone as at Barhut and Sanchi, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in the centuries before and two centuries after Christ.

In this way, there was an intermixture, through the common guilds of craftsmen employed by both Buddhists and Hindus, of the motifs, the techniques of carving and expression of belief.

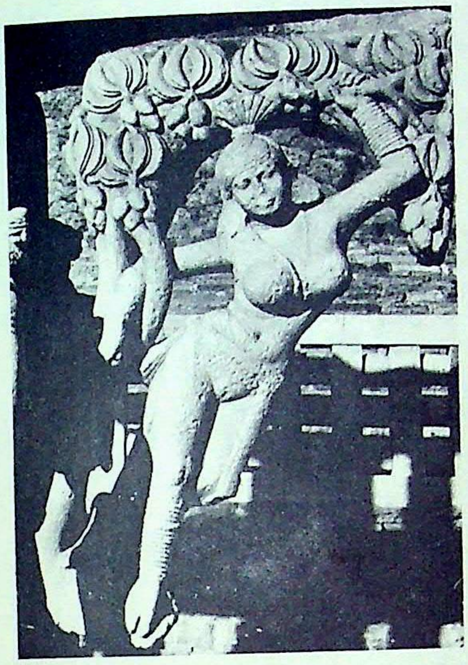
For instance, Mr. John Irwin has shown recently, how the Indra Kila, or Pillar, of the Hindus, which was supposed to connect the primeval mud through space to heaven, came to be used by the Buddhists, inside the stupa emerging on the top as support for the umbrella.

The lotus, opening its petals, became the common symbol for the refulgence of consciousness for both the Hindus and the Buddhists.

As the earliest shelters were natural caves, the people wanted the gods to live in superior, well-carved abodes with decorations. And the Buddhists, specially, began to retreat for worship into the caves they cut out from rocks. Thus from the third century B.C. mountains began to be scooped out from the rough Lomas Rishi Caves in Bihar, and Karle, Bhaja, Bhedsa, Kondane, Nasik, Pitalkhora, Ajanta in the north Deccan, to Gujarat in the west and Udaigiri in Orissa in the east.

The nature of the rock-layers naturally affected the shape of the scooped area. Some of the layers being rectangular, the form of the cave became rectangular and lent itself for the living place for the monks as a kind of dormitory. Elsewhere, the rock lent itself to rounding and the chaitya form emerged, with its vaulted roof and apsidal end.

These forms were refined in every century, and images were carved to fix the myths, for the worshippers who preferred the concrete form to the abstract concept.



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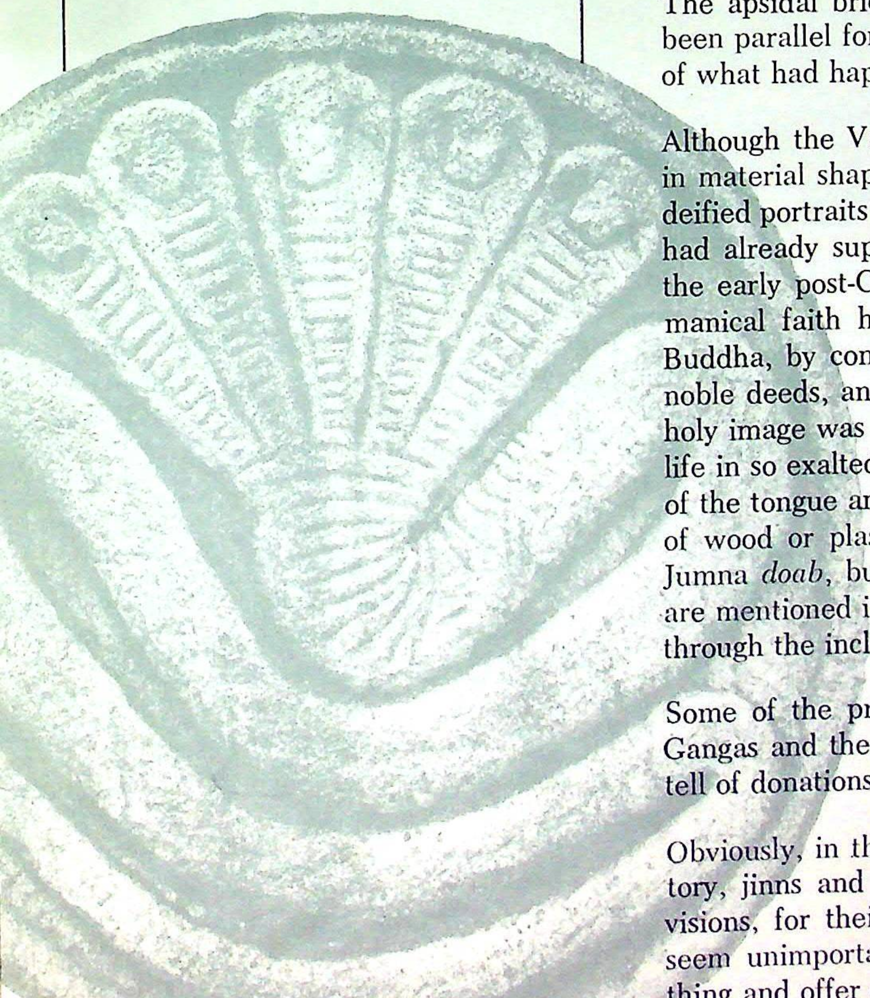

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In view of the Buddha's injunction that his image should not be worshipped, the followers had buried his relics in stupa mounds. As the monks scattered all over the country and the faith spread, these stupa mounds were constructed at Barhut, Sanchi, Taxila, Mathura, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Sarnath and other lesser-known sites like Sannati in Karnataka. The tomb-like stupa was shaped lovingly, into a rounded inverted dome, and scenes from the Buddha's life, and symbols of the faith, like lotus, wheel of law, and the Enlightened One's feet, were carved out on the gateways of the railings surrounding the circumambulatory passage with the figures of worshippers inset into panels for inspiring the pilgrims.

The Satavahana chieftains from Ter, who conquered the empire of the Sungas about the second century B.C., brought all these models to the Deccan. And perhaps some of the mastercraftsmen were transported. The carvings in Abbot's cave, Bhaja, clearly show affiliations with the panels carved out on the Sanchi gateways. And though it is not possible to trace the exact influence, in the buildings of wood, and brick structures, as these have perished, the forms of the north must have percolated everywhere, as we notice from the way in which the dynasties of the south, like the Kalachuris, the Pallavas and the Chalukyas emulated the examples of the courts of Imperial north.

The apsidal brick temple at Ter, and Cezerla, obviously could not have been parallel forms, without some awareness by the craftsmen of one area of what had happened in the other areas.

Although the Vedic Aryans did not recreate poetical images of the gods in material shapes, the terracotta images of the great mother, nagas and deified portraits of kings like those of the Nandas of the sixth century B.C. had already supplied models to the devout during the centuries. And in the early post-Christian centuries, the visionary poet-priests of the Brahmanical faith had contrasted the gloom of nothingness, offered by the Buddha, by conceiving images of their dynamic gods performing various noble deeds, and thus built up a rich iconography. The example of each holy image was tantalising, and the story of the myths showed the higher life in so exalted a manner that the iconography spread both with the salt of the tongue and through proliferation of images. These icons were made of wood or plaster, or painted on the shrines, not only in the Ganga-Jumna *doab*, but also in central India and the southern peninsula. They are mentioned in the Tamil Sangam literature. But they have not survived through the inclemencies of the weather.

Some of the pre-Chalukyan inscriptions of the Satavahana dynasty, the Gangas and the Kadambas, who ruled the Deccan before the Chalukyas, tell of donations to Brahmanical temples.

Obviously, in the jungle kingdoms, surrounded in the dark nights of history, jinns and bhoots of the folk, the Brahmins wanted to invoke the visions, for their chieftains, the gods who could make human suffering seem unimportant, because the divinities seemed to prevail over everything and offer examples of the heroic life.

9 *A Shiva Nataraj from Sangamesvara, Karnataka*
10 *Kirtimukha from Sanchi*

9

10

The areas which the Chalukyas conquered, when they came from the Tungabhadra and Krishna region, was probably highly forested. The villages were far and few between. The defence against the enemies could only be possible in hilly terrain and the waters of the Malaprabha river were just sufficient to sustain life.

The shrines in honour of the gods, whom they found more favourable to the dynasty, were built from a visionary consciousness, which assimilated the inherited images from previous dynasties, but through the hands of local craftsmen, who exalted those deities whom their patrons preferred.

The dominant presence of Shiva is envisioned as Nataraj in the spirit of the modern poet Rilke's phrase:

> "For beauty is nothing
> but beginning of terror—
> we are still just able to bear. . ."

It is not possible to reconstruct all the challenges to man's imagination in their daily lives, during the period of the creation of an Empire, from small beginnings, between the Tungabhadra and the Malaprabha upto the Narbada. But each day was fraught with dangers, when the fighting-mad generals and their hordes, had to compensate themselves for their weaknesses by invoking the gods.

The craftsmen were, therefore, probably busy all the year round creating shrines. The euphoria of victory of the monarchs filled the nostrils of the people with pride. The loot of the conquest brought wealth, as also some of the newly conquered people. All the rivulets fed the mainstream of life.

Thus though the artisans were mostly indigenous, they travelled in pilgrimages to the distant shrines and learnt the way to handle the chisel as skilfully as it had been possible in Elephanta beyond north Karnataka and Ellora and Ajanta in the east and Mahabalipuram in the south.

In this sense, there is a continuity of heroic deeds of the gods and goddesses in the Chalukya temples. The symbols are absorbed as decorations, but in terms of a new aesthetic. The garland-bearers, who were seen at Barhut, Sanchi, Gandhara, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, and Ter, appear at all the Chalukyan sites. The Makaras, Kirtimukhas, Vidyadharas, Ganas and other accessories are experienced again from the depth of different emotional experiences, by men grabbing at spiritual powers, which might make them masters of the chaos. The frequent representation of flying figures sums up the poetry of aspiration to gain control of the heavens.

—MULK RAJ ANAND

Roots, Relations and Relevance:
The Chalukyan Backdrop

The third Hariti-putra family[1] of the western half of the lower Deccan may have stepped into history in the fifth century A.D., but it created history for more than two centuries beginning from the middle of the sixth. Its early role has been completely obliterated now, though the glory it gained during the sixth-eighth centuries (as the most powerful of the monarchies from the lower Deccan, and as the strongest contender for the hegemony of the *daksinapatha*), is hardly obscured. The Chalukyas could claim, involving very little or no controversy, to be the *first* to *monumentalize* the mid-Deccan; to systematically popularise Saivism, Vaisnavism and Jainism, through temple media, between the coasts; to regulate the chronological system of the Karnataka dynasties by adopting the *Saka* era; to systematize the administrative set-up by creating new zones like the *Konkana-visaya;* to coin a currency system (*varaha*) that was to outlast them in history; to successfully challenge the *lord of the uttarapatha* in battlefield, and, above all, to evolve an architectural complex which was to distinguish itself under the names, *Nagara* (Northern), *Vesara* (Middle) and *Dravida* (Southern).[2] In fact, the Chalukyas were among the earliest in the lower Deccan to adorn the inner surface of the temple with an impressive array of Hindu gods and to introduce the technique and terminology of architecture that were to guide the tools of the artisans throughout the medieval period.

Remote Past

The Chalukyas probably had no blood-ties either with the Satavahanas, or with the megalithic builders; but in a way, they became heirs to the combined achievements of both these predecessors. The sites Chalukyas chose for establishing their capitals had already attained importance in early history, or, more exactly *proto-art-history*, through the megalithic monuments. These are located in the area which was either within the inundation-limits or the irrigational limbs of the meandering Malaprabha; and they became obscured, a little more than a millennium later, by the Chalukyan temples of great artistic beauty, variety and vivacity. The megaliths were erected to serve ritualistic or religious requirements of a simple pastoral group. Those at Aihole, Pattadakal and Badami were built out of the sand-stone (though granite-gneiss was also in use), cut into enormous blocks from the outcrops of the Kaladgi hill chains.[3] It is interesting to note the coincidence of the location of these two artistic traditions—Megalithic and Chalukyan—which demonstrates, as it were, the attempts of the peoples of different millennia to bridge a gap of several centuries. Burgess,[4] Cousens[5] and others[6] have already focussed our attention on these early monuments. The forty dolmens and three round barrows found between the Meguti and the Mina-basti Cave at Aihole, present a typical congregation-pattern that was to become a marked feature of the temple towns of the sixth century. This pattern is neither accidental nor isolated, for it is also noticed at Pattadakal, on the Badami-Pattadakal road and at the Sankar Gundu area on the one hand and the Chalukyan temples on the right bank of the Malaprabha on the other. It is obvious from this that these centres in the mid-Deccan had monuments in the millennium preceding the Christian era, but those proto-historic monuments had neither the awe-inspiring gods nor the architectural grandeur of the Chalukyans. The link between the low-lying proto-historic structures—made up of cap-stones and orthostats—and the carefully planned and artistically executed temples of the Chalukyas is indistinct. There is no doubt that the building activity of Megalithic man dominated the area for centuries only to be displaced by those of the imperial house in the sixth century A.D.

The Satavahanas had primarily carved or composed to serve Buddhism, to meet the needs of the various sects of that religion. They generally confined their activities to thriving urban centres, highways, and ports on the western and eastern peninsula, and they left the 'inhospitable' mid-Deccan to be dominated by the descendents of the dolmen-culture. While the western and eastern peninsula were encrusted with rock-cut *lenas, caityas* and structural *stupas,* the mid-Deccan remained nearly as barren as the brown flat-land that presents itself today in the mid-summer season. The Chalukyas built on the debris of the Satavahanas; this is literally true in some centres. The brick structures recently excavated at Aihole and Pattadakal,[7] just below the Chalukyan temples, and the evidence of Chalukyan occupation of Nagarjunakonda soon after the Satavahana and Iksvaku houses fell,[8] are of great relevance to us here.

The collapse of the Satavahana empire in the early third century A.D., led to a division of their territory between the Abhiras (of whom very little is known), the Maha-Bhojas (Kuda ins.), Kuras (Kolhapur), Iksvakus (Krishna valley), and Cutus (N.W. Karnataka). Partly overlapping with the rule of some of these dynasties, and partly continuing from them, the Trikutakas (South Gujarat), Vakatakas (Central Province) and Guptas (Magadha) emerged while on the east coast, the Iksvakus were succeeded by Brihatphalayanas, Anandas, and Salankayanas. But the rulers who later became very important in the heartland of the Western Chalukyas, either as their neighbours or as their neighbour's neighbour, were the Kadambas (west coast), Gangas (south Karnataka), early-Pallavas and Visnukundis (the Andhra coast). This political pattern, though complex, reveals the remoteness of the Vakataka-Guptas from the later Chalukyan home-land, During the first century of their rule, the Chalukyas came into close contact with the Gangas in south Karnataka, with the Kadambas on the west coast, the Kalacuris in the Konkan region, as well as the powers of Paithan, Mahakosala, Kalinga, the Pallavas of Kanci and the Nalas of south-western Andhra Pradesh.

The Western Setting:

Serving Buddhism principally and Jainism occasionally, the predecessors of Chalukyas had excavated and erected on a considerable scale in the peninsula. The bigger share of that great artistic movement is in Maharashtra and Andhra. The western peninsula is strewn with a thousand rock-cut *caityas, lenas, viharas, stupas* and other religious establishments. The structural works are now in partial or complete ruin. The west coast is dominated by the rock-cut caves between Ajanta (to the south of the Tapti), and Badami (to the south of the Malaprabha). Between *c.* 250 B.C. and A.D. 300, several *caityas* and *lenas* were excavated along this belt and many a record was engraved. The first to enter recorded history, appear to be those at Ajanta, Bhaja and Pitalkhora in about 250 B.C., while Ambivle, Jumol, Kanheri, Karle, Kuda, Mahad and Shelarwadi attracted patronage even as late as *c.* A.D. 300. The *lenas* form the largest number of excavations and nearly everywhere (Junnar, Manmodi, Bhaja, Ganeshpahar, Sivaneri, Kuda, Mahad, Nasik, Pitalkhora) this story is repeated. The highest concentration of rock-cut monuments, dated between 250 B.C. and 100 B.C., is at Bhaja, Manmodi, Tulja-lena, Ajanta, Kanheri, Nanaghat and Pitalkhora, while in the first three centuries of the Christian era, it is Manmodi, Ganeshpahar, Sivaneri, Kuda, Pawala, Mahad, Nanaghat, and Kanheri that dominate the scene. Karle, Kuda and Kol, asserted their place early in the Christian era. Despite this intense activity on the west coast, it is to be noted that none of these provided any space for the Vedic and Puranic gods, priests and monks.

The rock-cuts of the post-Satavahana period on the west coast tend to narrow down territorially to certain regional centres while widening their religious affiliation. The beginning of this development also is traceable to Ajanta. In the caves at Aurangabad, Badami, Aihole, Ellora, Elephanta, Arvalem etc. several of which were contemporaneous with the Chalukyas and some probably of Chalukya patronage, we encounter, for the first time, Jaina and Hindu temples.[9] Between A.D. 400 and 800, the Hindu rock-cuts were evolved and extended, marking the most remarkable of the artistic achievements in the territory between the Narmada and Kaveri.

The Eastern Setting:

The Chalukyas were closely associated with the east coast, and, beginning from Megalithic times and continuing through the periods of the Satavahanas and Iksvakus, we witness a living tradition that links the Chalukyas as closely to the tradition of the east as to the tradition of the west, through the Satavahana-Cutus. This may be found as much at Salihundum,[10] a Buddhist centre south of Kalingapatnam, as at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. The earliest evidence at Nagarjunakonda comes from the late Satavahana coins of Gautamiputra Satakarni, Pulumayi, Yajna Satakarni, and a Prakrit inscription of Gautamiputra Vijaya Satakarni.[11] The role of the Iksvakus, who succeeded to this region immediately after the fall of the Satavahanas, will be discussed later.

It is interesting to note that the Badami Chalukyas founded the capital of their eastern empire in the early seventh century at Vengi, a town which is half-way between Salihundum (north) and Ramatirtham (south). To the north, south and east of Vengi lay a great many Buddhist centres, while to its west were the celebrated Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunakonda[12] shrines. Besides the accidental proximity that linked the Satavahana-Iksvakus with the Chalukyas, there are several other pieces of evidence that relate them to the same cultural milieu. Just as at Aihole and Pattadakal, where we see the Chalukyan monuments literally standing on the debris of the Satavahana structures, at Nagarjunakonda and its neighbourhood, we discover the Chalukyan evidence literally superimposed on the Iksvaku remains.[13] While in the west the Chalukyas came into contact with the most ornate and elaborate of the cave excavations and only a handful of structural works, in the east they came into contact with scores of structural shrines and stupas, mostly in timber, brick and mortar, and very few cave excavations. The only rock-cuts, though far inferior in workmanship, were the Udayagiri—Khandagiri caves near Bhuvanesvar in Orissa and in the delta of Mahanadi.[14]

Early Experiment in Hindu Temple Construction:

Between third century B.C., and third century A.D., it was Buddhism and the other heterodox sects that led the orthodoxy in the field of temple construction. The elliptical structures (*vrttayata?*), which appear to have been first experimented in the Ganga basin, with the Ajivikas leading the rest (Lomas Risi cave), owe their origin to the Buddhists; this common mode of god's dwellings appears to have been subsequently adopted by the Hindus on the Nagarjuni hill (Bihar), Besnagar and Nagari (Central India) beginning from the third century B.C.[15] The Hindus, however, did not keep pace with the building activity of the Buddhist as is evident from the absence of comparable examples, until the third century A.D., at Nagarjunakonda. The Iksvakus, who succeeded the Satavahanas in eastern India in about the first-quarter of the third century A.D., laid the first foundation of Hindu temple architecture, though their personal inclinations fluctuated between Buddhism and Hinduism. Incidentally Hindu temple history in the peninsula begins with this material evidence, whatever might be the antiquity of the Hindu literature on, and knowledge of, temple construction!

The Iksvaku kings, like Satavahanas, were neither fanatical about any religion, nor were they fanatical about reviving any lost religious tradition. Buddhism, no doubt, dominated the scene as can be judged from its architectural activity, but it was broadly confined to some select centres and sections of society, and, despite the patronage of the nobility, royalty and commercial communities, it did not undermine the ubiquitous status of Hinduism. Building media were primarily the Buddhist media in the Lower Deccan until the third century A.D. The Buddhists had to build to popularize themselves and to propagate their mission. Hindus (whatever their character was in the peninsula in the late centuries B.C. and early centuries A.D.) did not proseletyze, and, until they realised the spell of the awe-inspiring monuments on the masses, did not aspire to carve and construct in grand style. This awareness seems to have surfaced in the third-fourth century A.D. As Iksvaku citizenry rose to the forefront, they achieved the economic power necessary to rival the Buddhist examples.

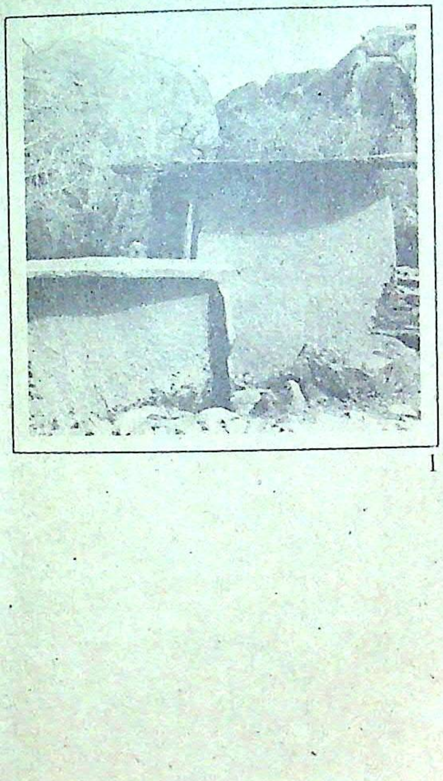
The Iksvaku kings, generally, adopted a political stance in their religious policy and pleased the Buddhist and Hindu subjects more often by silent salutations than by active patronage, while their princes and queens appear to have remained *devout* Buddhists. Besides the *maha-caitya,* a score of other monuments were erected by Cantamula and the ladies of higher order in society.[16] The lead gained by the Nagarjuna ladies remains unsurpassed in the history of temple-patronage, for, out of every hundred munificent acts, they allowed only ten to be owned by men.[17] On the evidence of the Vedic sacrifices conducted by the founder of this dynasty and based on stray references to certain Hindu gods—Siva and his sons in particular—some scholars have been led to conclude that the Iksvakus were "staunch Hindus", but a careful examination of their records shows that there is no ground for considering them "devout Hindus" or their time as witnessing "a phenomenal rise of Brahmanism".[18]

The Iksvaku period in the Deccan history, nonetheless, is important because it is during this period that we see the rise of the Hindu nobility to an influential position in the state. This class followed the Buddhist example and constructed structures for Kartikeya, Asthabhujasvami, Bhagesvari (?) etc.[19] Some of the rulers declared their respect for the god Mahasena *(virupakhapati-mahasena-pariga-hatisa* to maharaja Vasisthiputa Siri-Cantamula), the lord of the Virupaksas, a host of snakes, indicating their first compromise with a god, who had, by virtue of his martial character, become popular among the ruling class. Virapurusadatta, son of Ehuvala by one of his minor queens Kapanasiri, patronized the temple of Puspabhadrasvami. It is probable that this Kapanasiri hailed from a Hindu family and remained Hindu even after marriage; for her name does not occur among the queens who contributed to the Buddhist monuments. The reactions of the Hindu nobility in the late third century was neither accidental not casual, for, during this period, several concurrent things happened in the peninsula that evolved into a meaningful pattern a couple of centuries later. The facts that the Puspabhadrasvami temple inscription is in Sanskrit, not in the usual Prakrit, and that the patron was a cousin *of the last Iksvaku* king, Rudrapurusadatta, and also that the architectural features of this temple, which literally seems to stand between the end-phase of the Buddhist construction activity and the beginning of the Hindus, are of great significance historically.[20]

The Puspabhadrasvami temple is (1) built on the apsidal plan; (2) endowed with a *dhvajastambha and a prakara* with two gates; (3) attached with the auxiliary shrines (anticipating cells for the *parivara-devatas*); (4) situated near a river course, (5) and in its construction solid pillars are made use of. The other Siva temples vary from this plan and pantheon. It, however, becomes evident from these that a provision for the flow of *abhiseka* water through the *pranali* was in vogue in the temples of the time, and that the most popular deities were Sarvadeva (Siva) and Kartikeya.[21]

III Precedents in Architectural Plans and Patterns:

The apsidal plan, claimed to be the characteristic of the *Vesara* temple-style[22] and used most extensively between the Narmada and Krishna, was innovated and implemented centuries before the Chalukyas came to power between Brahmagiri and Junagadh as well as Dhamnar on the one hand, and Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa on the other. However, instances which lay further to the north are also known.[23] The Buddhist activity on the east coast, can be detected in remains and ruins; it appears to have been conducted on an impressive scale at the time the Chalukyas marched through these centres or camped near them. The laterite, or timber-mixed-brick and mortar structures, brought to light at Salihundum, Sankaram, Kottur, Kapavaram, Kodavle, Adurru, Lingarajupalyam, Guntupalle, Arugolanu, Alluru, Jaggayyapeta, Gummadidirru, Garikapadu, Gudiwada, Ghantasala etc., and Nagarjunakonda, Goli, Pedamadduru, Amaravati, Vaikunthapuram, Bhattiprolu, Peda and China Ganjam and Ramatirtham, are works of immense artistic beauty and variety. The *circular plans* adopted in religious establishments of Salihundum and Guntupalle, remind us of the Ajivika experiments in the rock-cutting on the Barabar hills (Sudhama cave of Ajivikas) and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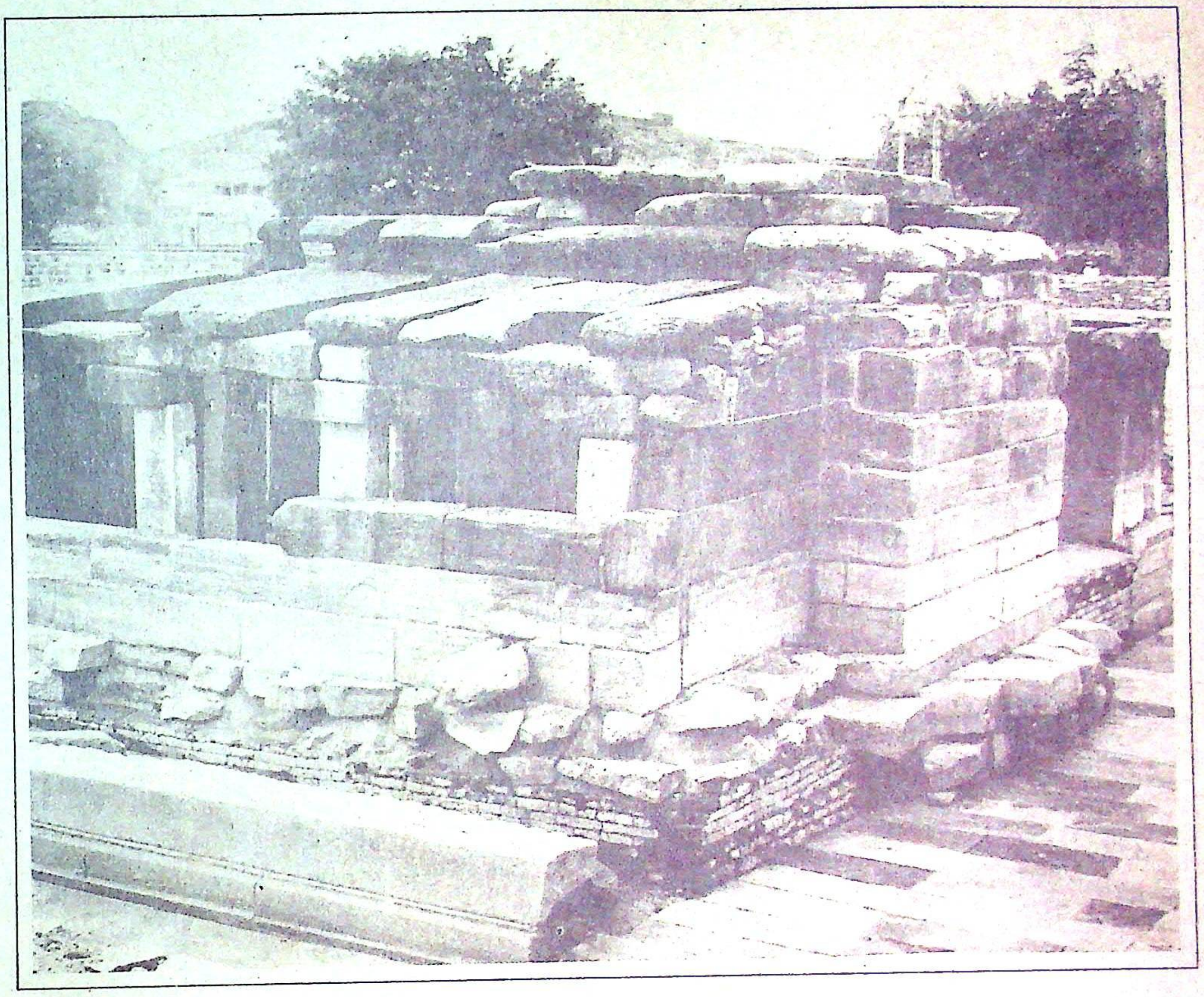
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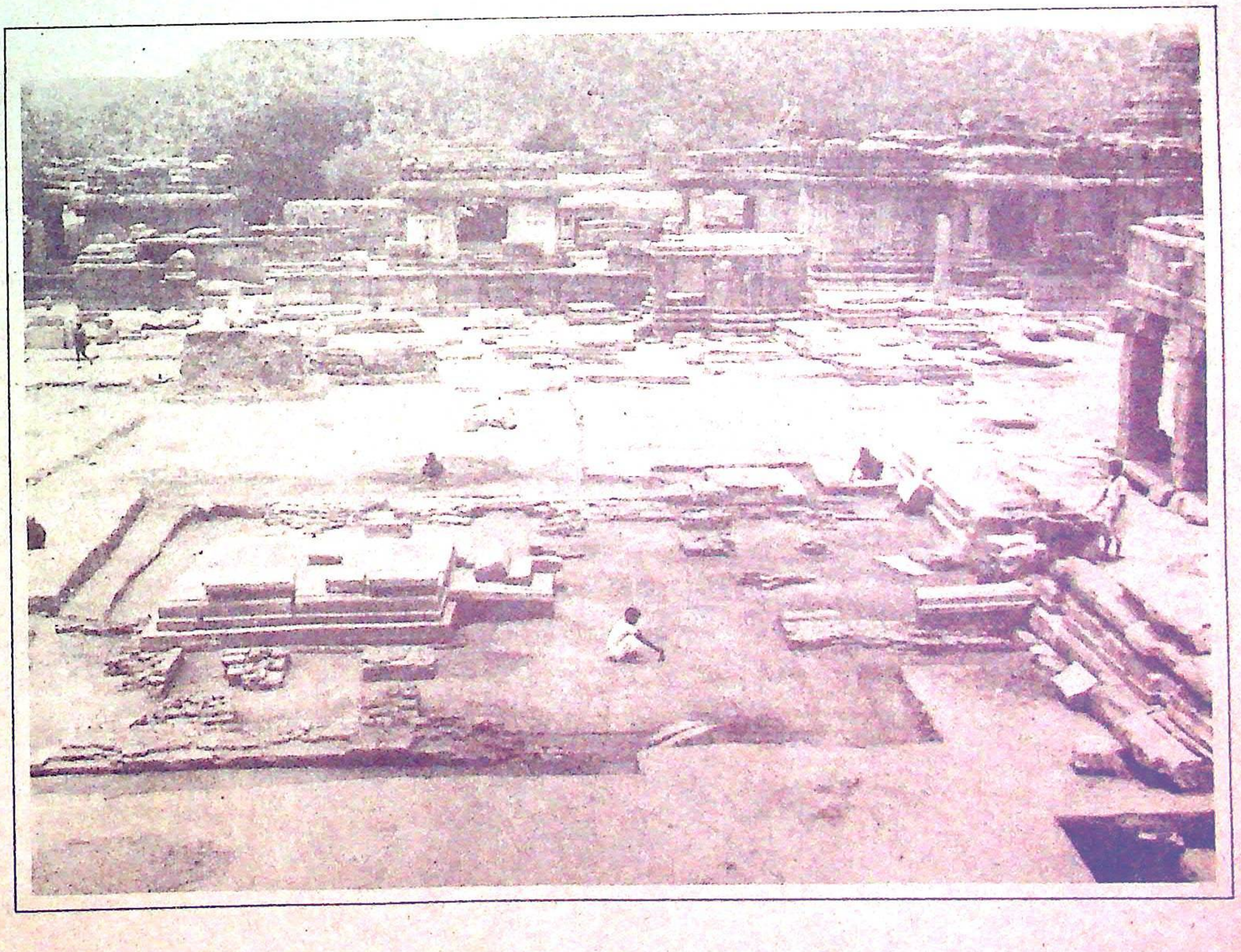
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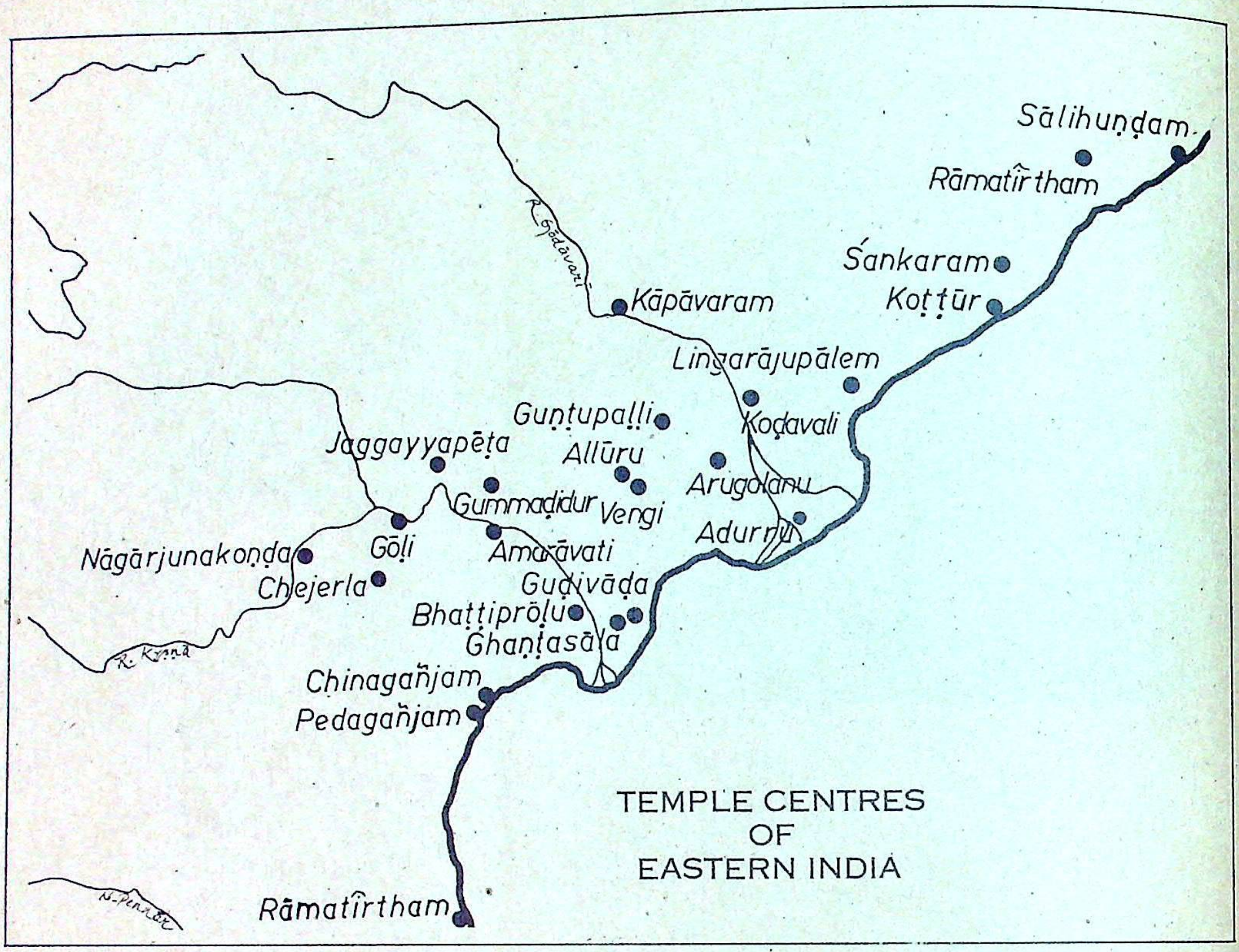
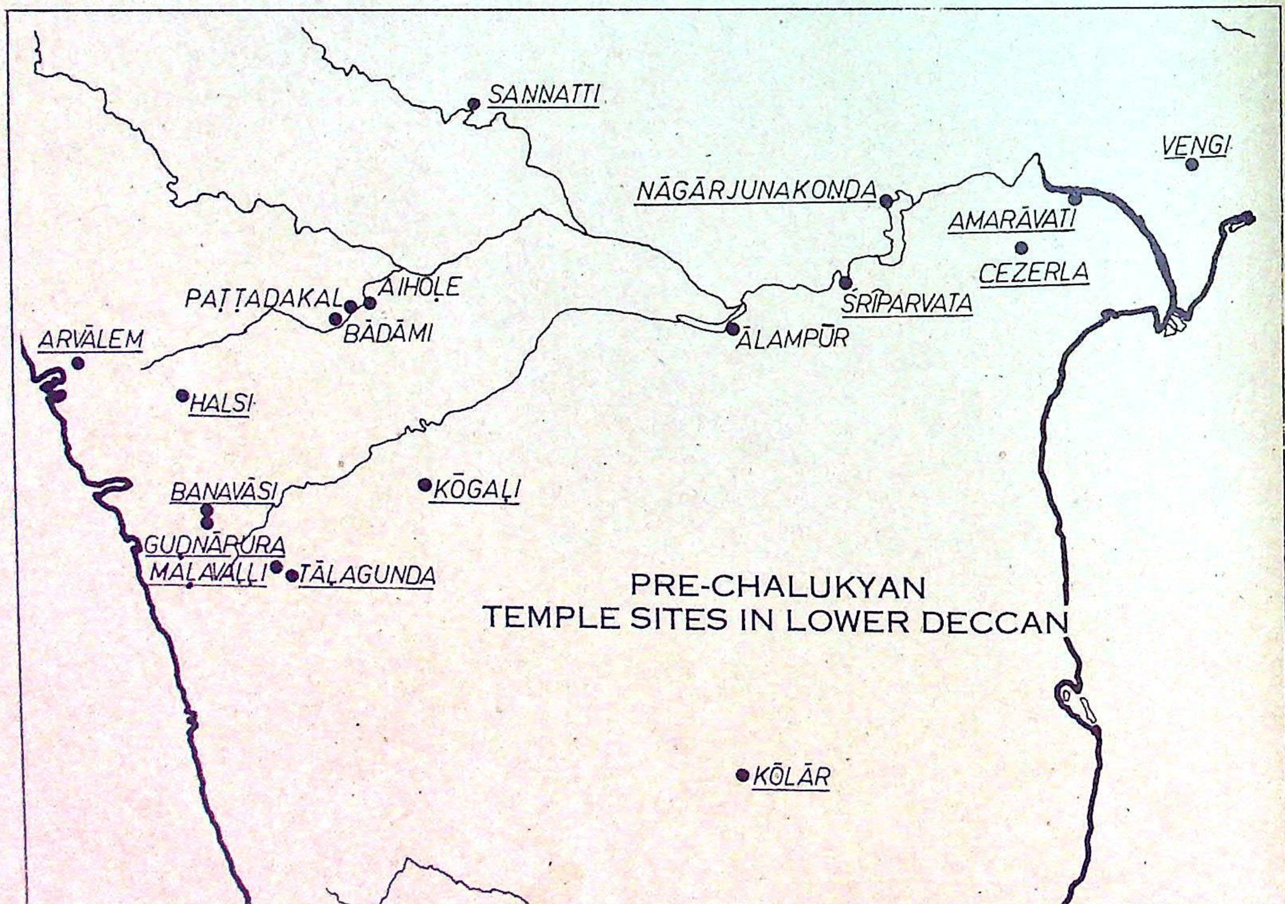
1 *Dolmen at Hire Benkal (Gungavati Tk., in Raichur Dist.)*
2 *Ambigera Gudi, Aihole, revealing pre-Chalukyan (Satavahana) brick-structure.*
3 *Brick-structures of the pre-Chalukyan (Satavahana?) temples, Pattadakal. (Photos: Courtesy, Dr. A. Sundara)*


Sālihuṇḍam
Rāmatîrtham
Śankaram
Koṭṭūr
R. Gōdāvari
Kāpāvaram
Lingarājupālem
Guṇṭupalli
Koḍavali
Jaggayyapēṭa
Allūru
Arugolanu
Gummaḍidur
Vengi
Adurru
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa
Gōli
Amarāvati
Chejerla
Guḍivāḍa
Bhaṭṭiprōlu
Ghanṭasāla
R. Kṛṣṇa
Chinagañjam
Pedagañjam
N. Pennār
Rāmatîrtham

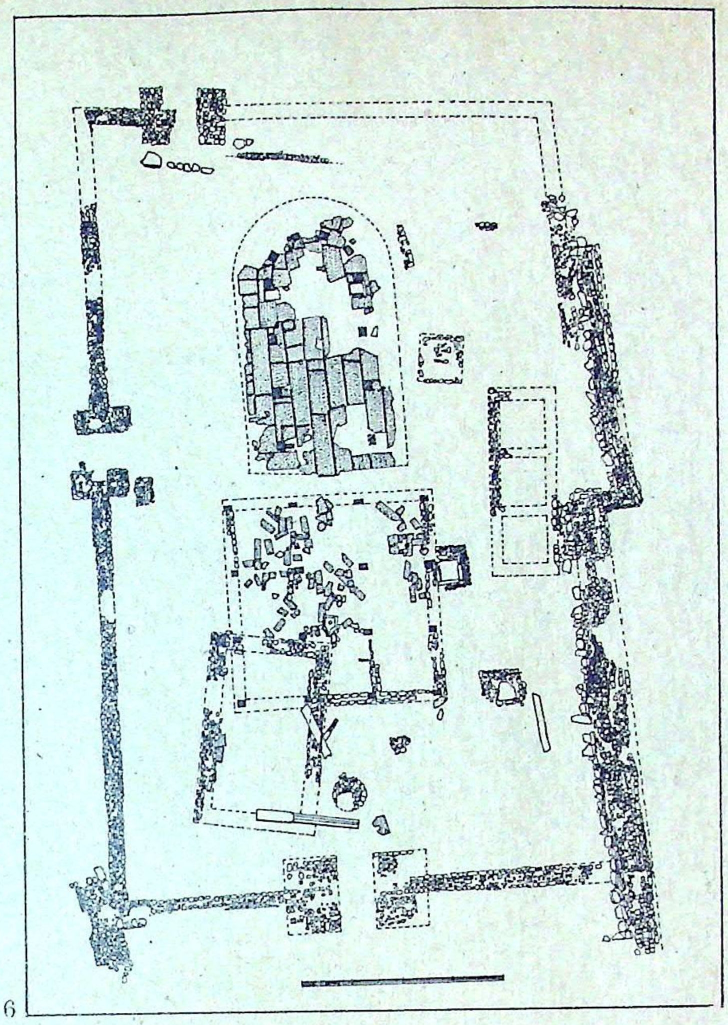
TEMPLE CENTRES
OF
EASTERN INDIA

4


SANNATTI
VENGI
NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌA
AMARĀVATI
CEZERLA
AIHOLE
PAṬṬADAKAL
ŚRĪPARVATA
BĀDĀMI
ĀLAMPŪR
ARVĀLEM
HALSI
BANAVĀSI
KŌGAḶI
GUḌNĀPURA
MALAVALLI
TĀLAGUNDA
KŌLĀR
TALAVANAPURA

PRE-CHALUKYAN
TEMPLE SITES IN LOWER DECCAN

5



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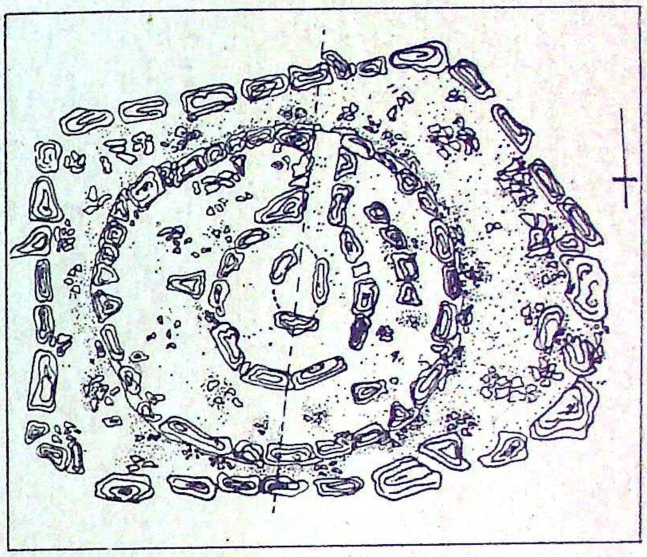

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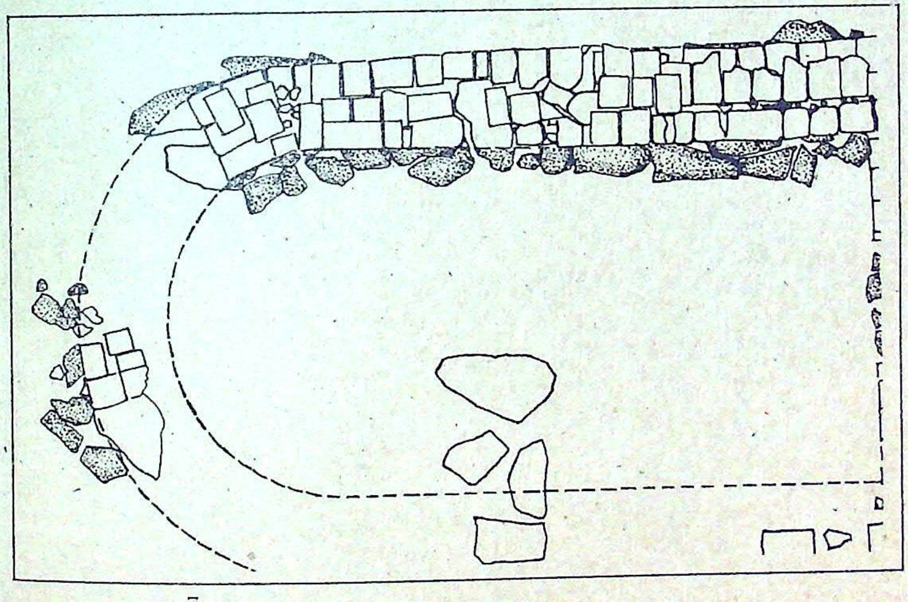

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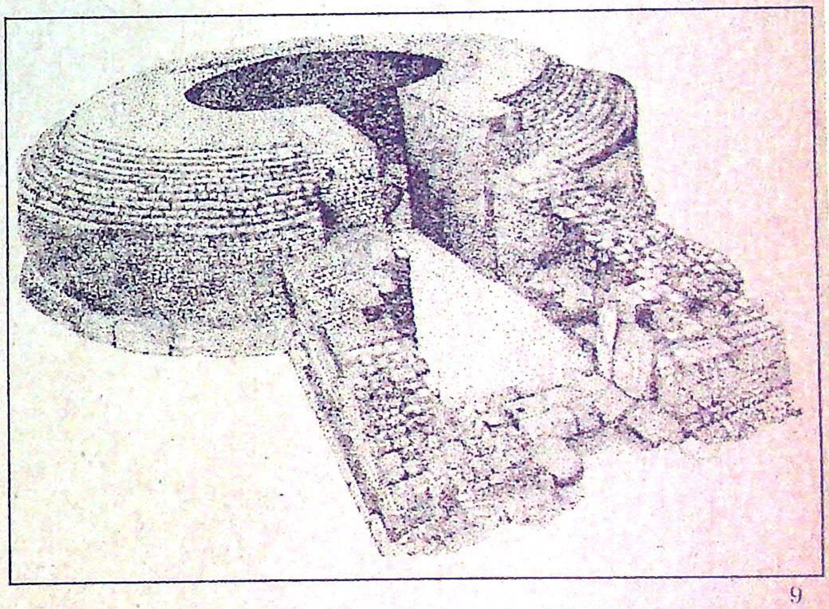
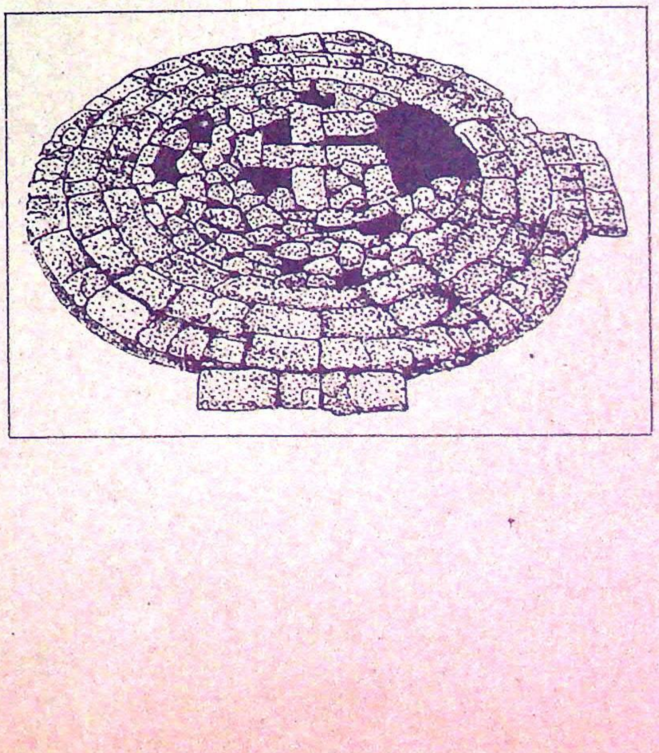


9

4. *Temple centres of Eastern India*
5. *Pre-Chalukyan temple sites in Lower Deccan*
6. *Puspabhadra Temple: Nagarjunakonda.*
7. *Apsidal Brahmagiri.*
8. *Megalith, Terdal.*
9. *A Buddhist in Andhra Pradesh, (After Dr. R. Subrahmanyam's Salihundam)*
10. *Stupa with swastika base (after Nagarjunakonda)*



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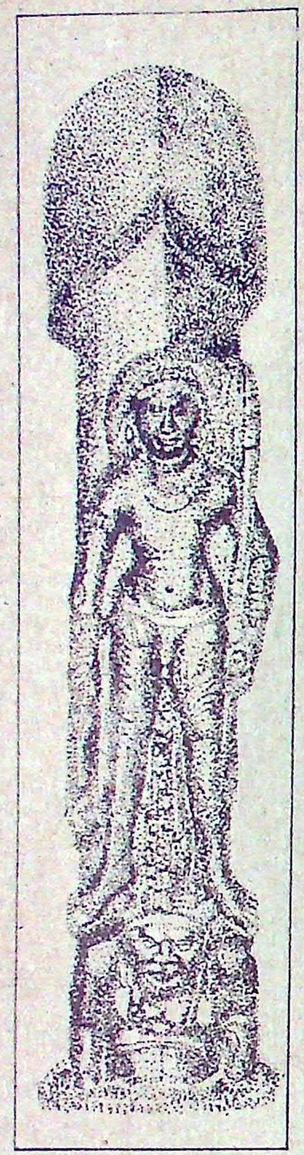

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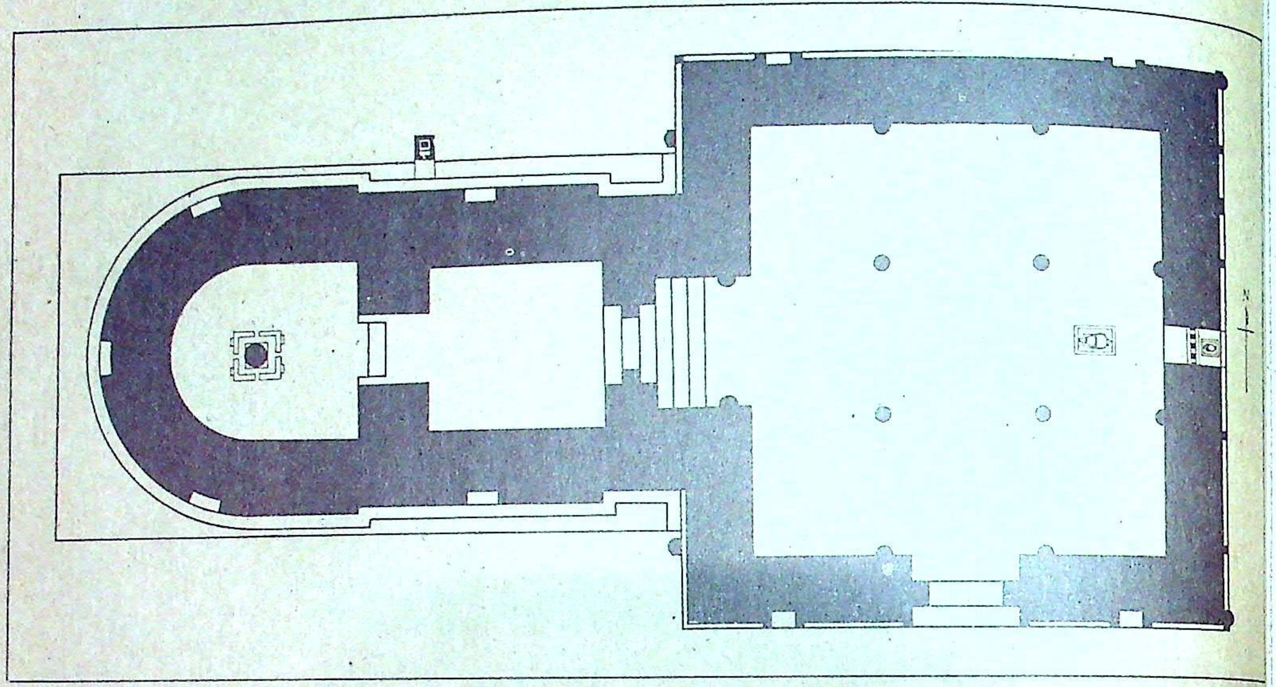
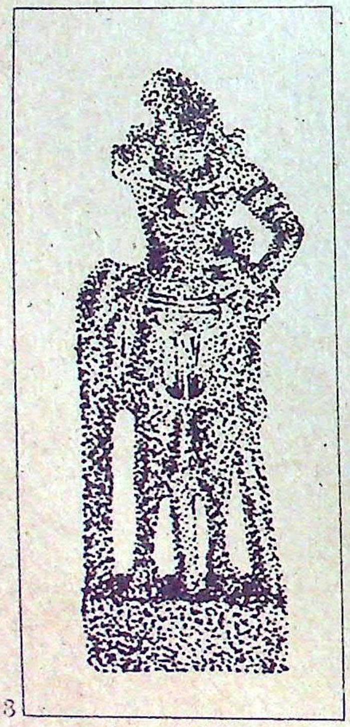


11 *Gudimallam Linga*
12 *Gudimallam Temple Plan*
13 *Standing Kartikeya (height 12") from Nagarjunakonda*
14 *Detail of head of Standing Kartikeya*
15 *Arvalem Caves, Goa.*
(Line drawings and sketches by courtesy, Director, Institute of Indian History, University of Karnataka, Dharwar).



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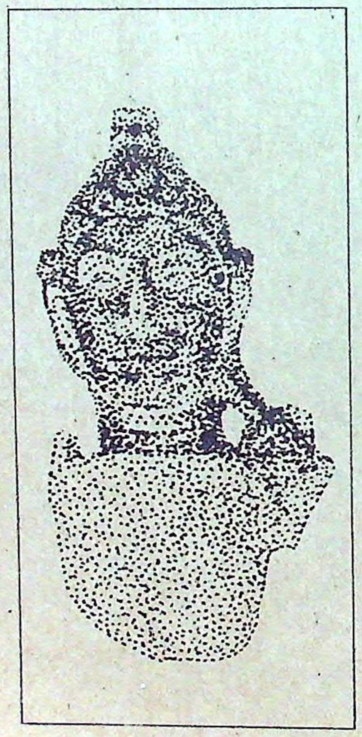

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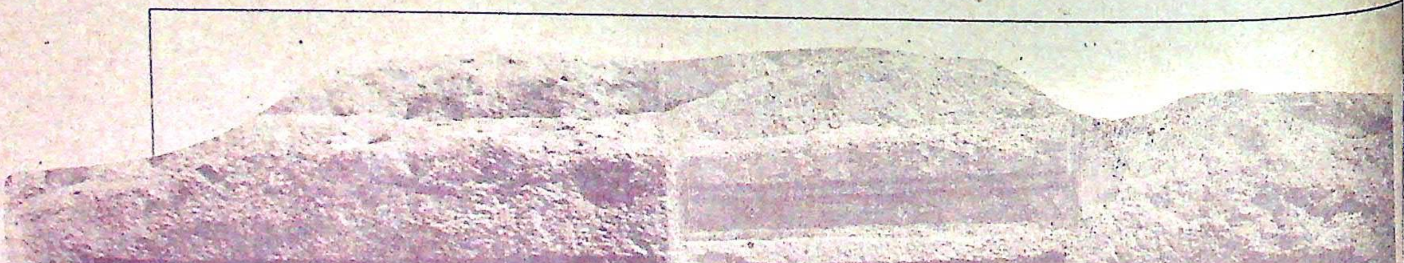
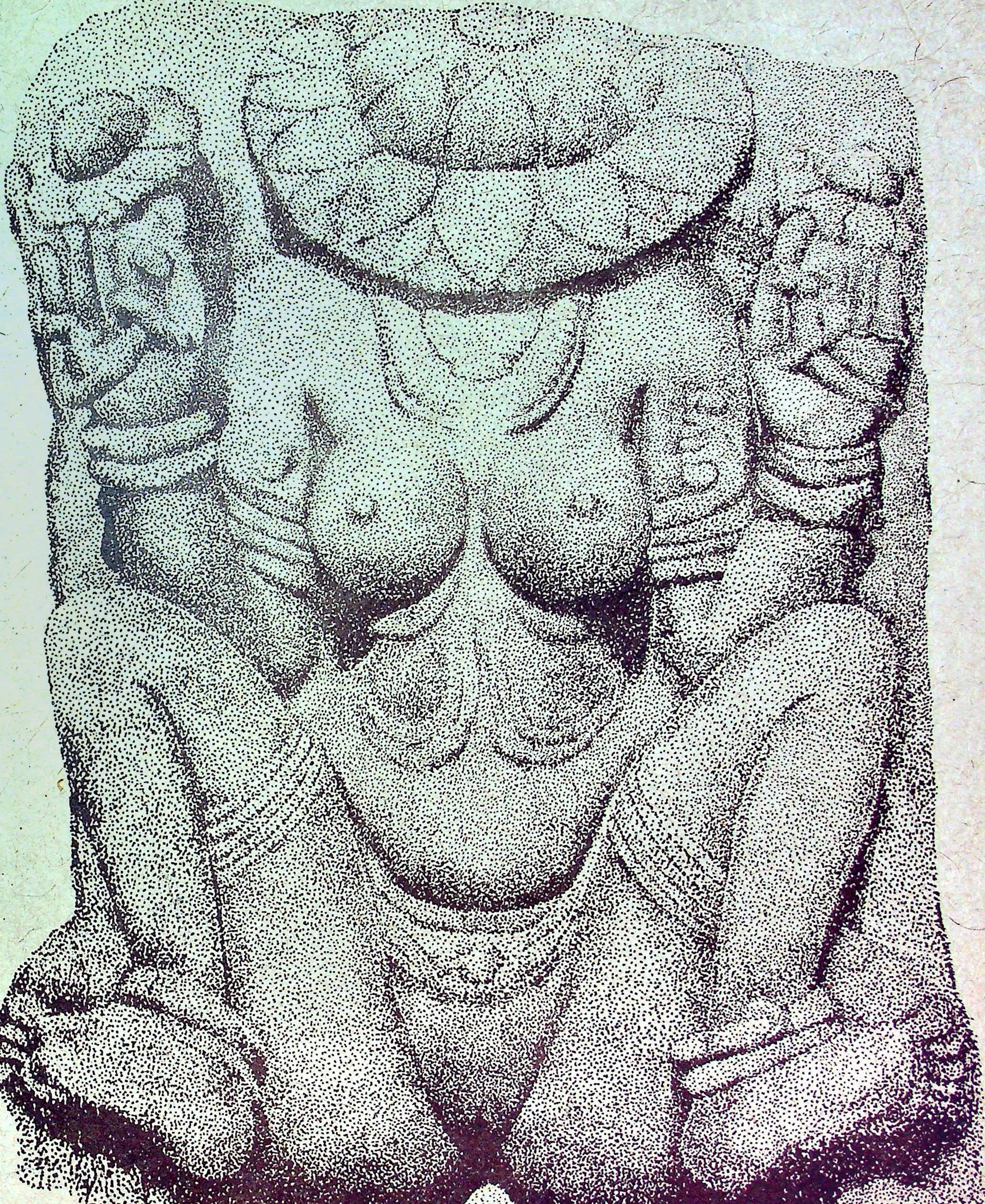
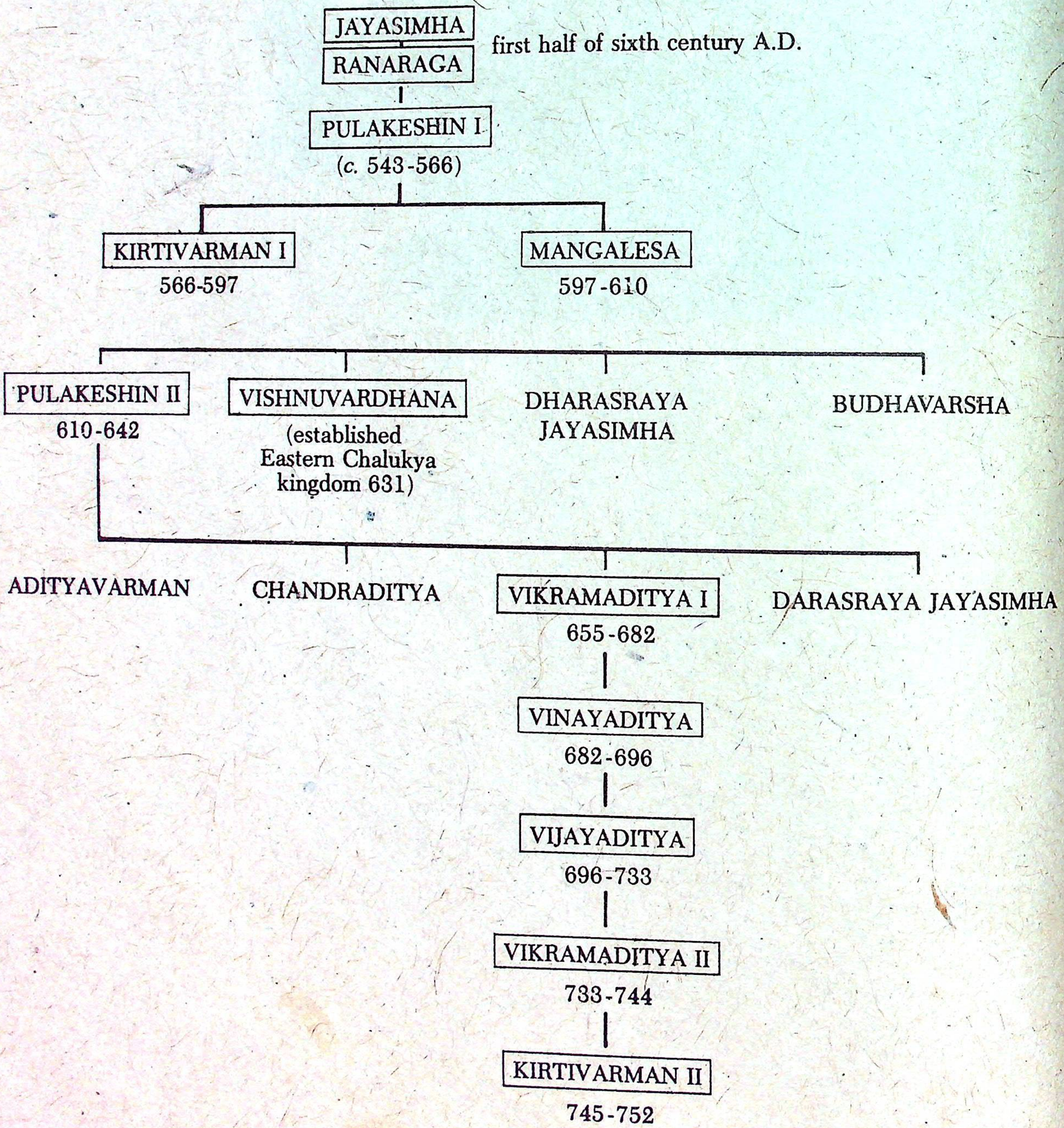




Lajja Gauri, Nagral, Karnataka, c. 7th century;
now in Badami Museum

CHRONOLOGY:
WEST CHALUKYAN DYNASTY


JAYASIMHA
RANARAGA
first half of sixth century A.D.
PULAKESHIN I
(*c.* 543-566)
KIRTIVARMAN I
566-597
MANGALESA
597-610
PULAKESHIN II
610-642
VISHNUVARDHANA
(established Eastern Chalukya kingdom 631)
DHARASRAYA JAYASIMHA
BUDHAVARSHA
ADITYAVARMAN
CHANDRADITYA
VIKRAMADITYA I
655-682
DARASRAYA JAYASIMHA
VINAYADITYA
682-696
VIJAYADITYA
696-733
VIKRAMADITYA II
733-744
KIRTIVARMAN II
745-752

of the Buddhist experiment in brick-mortar at Bairat.[24] The Salihundum structural example[25] —with its circular-shrine and narrow approach passage—may not bear any architectural relation to the unsophisticated passage-chambers first conceived by the Megalithic settlers in the Deccan;[26] but there is no doubt that they strongly remind one of the *circle* which popularized during the proto-art-historic phase. While the Salihundum example is in loose material, the Guntupalle Buddhist cave is in solid material for it is rock-cut; and, as fully preserved as these, are their counter-parts at Junnar, Kondivate, Bhaja, Bhedsa, etc., on the west coast.[27] However, the *circle* hardly survived the Buddhist phase to make any impact on the Pallavas of Kanci, Kadambas of Banavasi and Chalukyas of Badami.

The circular plan (even now a favourite in hut-building and fodder-piling in Andhra and Karnaaka) may not have led to *the apsidal*, and both these could or could not have been first practised by the Megalithic groups of the Deccan; but there is little doubt that apsidal remained the favourite plan-feature of the Buddhists for at least about half a millennium. Making appearance at Bhaja (west coast) in the second century B.C., it was extensively practised in their excavations in western India, until the fifth century A.D.[28] For the first time, this temple form departs from the heterodox framework in eastern India at Nagarjunakonda and serves Saivism in the third century, probably under the Iksvakus. Incidentally it was at Nagarjunakonda that the *stupa* and *caitya-griha* traditions "were harmonised with a balanced architectural plan.[29] The venue was subsequently shifted to the west coast, during the fifth-sixth centuries, with some further modifications, and the apsidal made a tremendous impact at Ajanta and Ellora. Remarkably enough, the structural counterparts of the fifth century are also found in Andhra, at Cezerla (Krisna Dt.) and, in western India, at Ter (Osmanabad Dt.) both claimed to be later appropriations by the orthodoxy.[30] In the meanwhile, near the Chalukyan home-land, this temple style became fully familiar to the local architects. Besides the well-known examples at Brahmagiri (Chitradurga Dt.),[31] those at Banavasi[32] (Karwar Dt., on the west coast), and Vadagaon-Madhavapura[33] (Belgaum Dt.), which had survived at least in the early centuries B.C.—A.D., may be mentioned here. Either continuing this tradition or following the models at Nagarjunakonda (where the Chalukyan remains are found lying on those of the Iksvakus), the Chalukyas experimented at Hale-Mahakuta, Aihole, Satyavolu, and Papanasanam in the two important zones of their empire.[34] Similar trends must have popularized this model in the Pallava territory, resulting in the Sahadeva Rath in rock-cut, and Vadamallisvara temple at Oragadum near Mahabalipuram in the structural form.[35] Whether we have to trace Hinduization of the apsidal either from Gudimallam (the *linga* dated in the second century B.C.)[36] or from Nagarjunakonda cannot be determined in the present limitations of our knowledge, but even in the current hazy atmosphere we find in Nagarjunakonda a better possibility than elsewhere. There may or may not be links connecting the apsidal brick-stone structures from Puspabhadra of Nagarjunakonda with the Hale-Mahakuta and Aihole stone structures with Cezerla (near Nagarjunakonda) and Ter (Osmanabad Dt.), but it appears certain that this plan was monopolized neither by a sect nor by a dynasty. After fourth century A.D., the apsidal form survived in the Deccan, long after it was nearly forgotten in the north, serving Hinduism; this is evident from the early-Chalukyan (Hale-Mahakuta, Aihole, Alampur), the Pallava (Mahabalipuram, Kuram, Kadambakkam and Kancipuram) as well as the Chola centres (Narttamalai and Oragadum).[37]

The apsidal is an interesting form, but it failed to last long or to gain great popularity among the Hindus. It nearly disappeared after about the tenth century A.D., either because the religion it first served declined in the three-quarter of the millennium after the Mauryas, or because the excavation media went out of fashion after the Pandyas. But three of the major schools of architecture—the Chalukya, Pallava and Chola—had to take serious cognizance of this plan, and this is certainly of some importance.

Equally interesting and intricate is the story of *the rectangular or square plan* as that of the apsidal. The most convincing starting point in the development of the rectangular in the structural works of the Deccan may be the Sarvadevadhivara, a *Saiva temple built in about A.D. 300, at Nagarjunakonda.* This temple, now known only from its remains, consisted of a pillared hall, with a pillared corridor surrounding it; the height of the central chamber (which probably housed the deity) with its elevated roof, contrasted with the corridors of low roofs.[38] A student of early Chalukyan architecture is immediately reminded here of the configuration of the Lad Khan, and of the possible inter-relations between the two examples. The link between the Siva temples on the banks of the Krishna and of the Malaprabha may not be distinct, but it cannot be altogether denied.

There will be more confusion than meaning in the history of art, if inter-relationships and impacts of styles are to be determined solely on the basis of the ground plans. Hence, let us refrain from emphasizing this point. However, interesting evidence from historically relevant areas constantly reminds us of *the roots, relations and relevance,* but as strong as these, are *some of the architectural patterns.* Both at Nagarjunakonda and Ellesvaram (right across the Krishna, facing Nagarjunakonda) one can find material remains which reveal Chalukyan occupation, thus establishing direct contact with the earlier traditions and conventions.[39] This impact is clearly revealed in the works of the Chalukyas. A study of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda reliefs would help one find the rudimentary elements of the major architectural forms and facets—moulded *kapotas,* wagon-roofed *salas, alpa-prasada* and *kutagaras* of the *Nagara* order, circular shrines of the *Vesara* order, and the storeyed and other *vimana, ayatasra* shrines of the *Vesara* and *Dravida* orders—that are later to develop into distinct idioms under the *Nagara, Vesara* and *Dravida* schools of art.[40] Needless to say, that the alphabet of the later major *vastu* styles of the country was first perfected in the Chalukyan heartland, and then it was transported to north and south. The inference that Chalukyan architecture was "at the very vanguard of architectural motivations in India in ancient times," and that the lower Deccan was "the most propitious area where we would find direct corroboration on the ground, for the elements mentioned in the *silpa* texts, many of which had, doubtless, been written in this region"[41] is not altogether unwarranted. Besides finding the earliest, fully developed and fully preserved temple styles, we also find the survival of major motifs and mouldings in the heartland of the Chalukyas, of which the *purna kumbhas,* the railing pillars with lotus medallions, the *kapotas* etc., commonly met in the Buddhist works of eastern India, are noteworthy.

IV

The Kartikeya Tradition:

The Chalukyas take pride in calling themselves worshippers at the feet of Kartikeya, a god who found his first followers in the peninsula at Nagarjunakonda. A Hindu noble (of the late third century A.D.), holding the rank of *talavara,* declares that by "the grace and favour of Kartikeya"[42] he could build a Sivalaya while the Iksvakus take pride in assuming titles like *Virupakhapati* (lord of snakes) *Mahasena*—(Kartikeya)—*parigaha.* Besides the sites where once the Kartikeya temples stood in the Iksvaku capital,[43] we also know of an interesting variety of images and terracotta figurines of this god and his female-counterpart.[44] The names of Khandasiri (Skanda-Sri) of the Pukiya family, Khandasagaramnaka (Skanda-sagara), Skanda-Visakhamnka etc., testify to the popularity of this god.[45] This was in agreement with what had been established by the Satavahanas, for not only do we come across earliest reference to this deity in their records,[46] but also to those who were named after Skanda.[47]

The Iksvaku contact with the Banavasi region may or may not have implanted this on the soil subsequently controlled by the Kadambas, but we know that the latter proudly declared that their family was favoured (*anudhyata*) and anointed (*abhiseka*) by Sadanana (*mahasena*) in their inscriptions.[48] The Nalas, who slipped into the Vakataka territory and became early neighbours of the western Chalukyas also claimed Skanda as the bestower of power on them *(Mahesvara-Mahasenati-srsta-rajya-vibhavah).*[49] The Chalukyas came into conflict with both these dynasties, uprooted their authority (*Nala-Maurya-Kadamba kala-ratri*)[50] and built new administrative divisions (*Nala-visaya* in the Anantapur-Bellary Dts., and *Konkana-visaya* on the west coast), but whether or not they appropriated the gold, goods and gods of their enemies after vanquishing them can be anybody's guess. The Chalukyas declare their devotion, almost in identical phrases as those of the Kadambas, to Kartikeya and to the Mothers.[51] The Chalukyan image of Kartikeya near Biccolim, Goa, may or may not indicate their victory over the Kadambas-Bhojas, but its presence in the area not far off from the Pancalingesvara caves at Arvalem is noteworthy.[52] The facts that Skanda's influence had not only penetrated into the palace-circle of the Prakrit-Pallavas (as can be seen from the names of rulers, princes etc.), but also that it lived through the period of the Pallavas' long-drawn conflict in the peninsula and gained immense popularity with the term *Murugan* in the Dravidian milieu, deserve to be examined in greater depth than our space and scope permit here. That Skanda, worshipped as a god under Iksvakus, became associated with religio-political power during the Kadamba, Pallava and Chalukyan rule, needs to be specially noted.

Lajja-Gauri Tradition:

Students of early-Chalukyan art are familiar with a somewhat odd-looking, awe-inspring and symbol-ridden stele, with the head of a lotus, torso bearing protrusion of fully-developed breasts, and with the knees drawn towards the shoulders to reveal a vertical slit. Its highly flexed posture, explicit message and revealing symbolism have already arrested the attention of several scholars who have named her "Shameless Woman," Mother Goddess and Fertility Divinity. Her popular name among scholars is *Lajja-Gauri;* among locals she is known as Yellamma, Renuka and Najna-Kabamdha, the last being the closest to her character.[53] Her worship had obviously gained popularity during the Chalukyan rule, for we find her images surviving at Aihole, Badami, Mahakuta, Siddhanakolla, Jalihal, Alampur and Pancalingala.[54] The history of this cult, obviously Hindu, was not less than three centuries old by then, for in the third century A.D., we encounter the images of this goddess in the Deccan, for the first time at Nagarjunakonda. Mahadevi Khanduvula, a queen of Maharaja Sri Ehuvala Cantamula, declares, by implication, that her twin fortunes—marital happiness (a-vidhava) and off-springs (jiva-puta)—were due to the grace of this goddess.[55] The term *jiva-puta* or *jiva-suta* also occurs in the Satavahana, Sunga and Mathura records.[56]

Unfortunately the third century record at Nagarjunakonda does not name the goddess; but her popularity appears to be considerable as a number of plaques bearing relief of this goddess are reported from the same place[57]. Her images are found across the river, at Ellesvaram (now in the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Survey Museum, Hyderabad), and in scattered centres at as wide a distance of space and time as at Darasuram (Tamil Nadu) and at Balligamve (Shimoga Dt.). It is with considerable curiosity that we note the concentration of her images—of which more than half a dozen survive now at Ter, a centre closely linked with the Chalukyas.

Whether the Chalukyas directly carried this cult-practice from centres like Nagarjunakonda or not, we are certain that they were responsible for introducing and popularizing this goddess in their kingdom. Elaborate temples were obviously not constructed for this folk deity by the Chalukyas, for there were no precedents for such an act even at Nagarjunakonda. Whether she had any bearing on the Kalamukha cult is yet to be examined, but there appears to be very little doubt relating to her Saiva affiliation.

It is interesting to note that Hariti, a folk goddess, was revered because she was conceived to be the "protectress of children", bearer of the "symbol of fecundity", and "bestower of wealth".[58]

Hariti and Saptamatrika Traditions:

Hariti is a Buddhist goddess of pestilence, the 'stealer of children' and a goddess cannibal. Her antiquity probably goes back to the pre-Buddhist period, in her folk-form and as pestilence goddess, but she was absorbed into Buddhism probably when several tribal and rural Saktis made their incursions into the heterodox pantheon.[59] This full-breasted goddess, invariably accompanied by her off-springs, is often associated with Kubera (Pancika), the lord of wealth.[60] It is as the Buddhist goddess that Hariti emerged to the forefront, and transforming herself into a benevolent force, she further rose to the position of the mother goddess, to be respected and revered by royal families. The elevation of Hariti appears to have synchronized with the emergence of Brahmanism in the Deccan and also with the discontinuation of the matronymics from royal names.

One of the main features of the brahmanical order is the popularization of the *gotras.* By accepting *gotra*-names, the ruling families and aristocracy may or may not have accepted Hinduism, but they certainly ameliorated their social status by accepting or accommodating brahmanical priesthood. This has led some to assert that the Iksvakus "were Brahmanas possibly of the Harita gotra" as one of their descendent (Harita) was responsible for this *gotra* name.[61] But Hariti is celebrated not so much as the *gotra*-name but as the family deity in Deccan history, more or less in an unbroken continuity, by the Cutus, Kadambas and Chalukyas of Badami. Here again the Iksvakus appear to have set an example. It was the son of Ehuvala and Kapanasiri, prince Virapurusadatta, who names himself Haritiputra. This prince, the *mahasenapati*, was also the founder of Puspabhadrasvami temple.[62] The Cutus of Banavasi, connected with the Satavahanas by matrimonial ties (hence, probably, they continued the term *Satakarni*), called themselves Haritiputras, and issued coins bearing legends of Hariti.[63] The political and cultural activities of this dynasty nearly bridged the west coast with the east, as their grants are found at Kanheri, their coins in the Cuddappa and Anantpur Districts,[64] and their monuments and munificent acts at Nagarjunakonda.[65] The Iksvaku princess, Kodabalasiri (sister of Ehuvala Cantamula), who married a ruler of Banavasi, built a monastery at Nagarjunakonda for the Mahasasaka.[66] That this participation of the Kuntala (west coast) nobility in the east coast was not confined to the Buddhist religion is seen from the contributions made by Visnurudrasivalananda Satakarni of Banavasi on the occasion of the construction of the Asthabhujasvami temple at Nagarjunakonda.[67] That the cult of Hariti was developed so well during the Iksvaku times that it could survive a couple of centuries in this valley has been proven by the fact that a temple for this goddess was erected and also the discovery of images in the Nagarjuna valley.[68] This goddess was popular among those who desired offsprings; a large quantity of bangles dug out in the site indicates that she was also revered for securing longevity in marriage.[69] The close link between the Iksvakus and the Cutus, and the elevation of Hariti from the fertility and pestilence goddess to that of the family deity of the ruling houses, who had been drifting away from Buddhism, should not be lost sight of. Incidentally the Cutus happen to be the earliest in the Deccan to drop the matronymics (using individual mother's names), from their names, and to acknowledge the common motherhood of Hariti. The convention of bearing matronymics, elaborately developed by the Satavahanas and continued systematically by the Iksvakus at Nagarjunakonda, is more or less discontinued from the fourth century A.D., by the Cutus and their successors in the west. Hariti was acknowledged by the two early dynasties which ruled the west coast from Banavasi and Badami. In fact, her popularity in this region seems to have led the Aira king of Manosada[70] and one of the Vakataka kings (Pravarasena I)[71] to call themselves Hariti-putras. Whether Pravarasena's direct confrontation with the Iksvakus led the Vakatakas to adopt this title or whether there was some other reason we do not know. But the blood ties between the Kadambas and the Vakatakas in the middle of the fifth century are amply proven by the marriage between the daughter of Kakusthavarma and Narendrasena and acknowledgement of his maternal uncle by Prithvisena II in his family genealogy.[72]

The Kadambas who succeeded the Cutus continued the tradition and claimed the same Manavya-*gotra*, besides worshipping the gods, as at Malavalli, originally established by the Cutus. However, they elaborated their indebtedness to the Mother Goddesses, thus making a distinction between the family deity (that ensured progeny) and the divine bestower of authority (that ensured power) on them. It is through the Kadambas that the worship of the Saptamatrikas gained its popularity on the Deccan scene. The Chalukyas of Badami preserved all these intact and claimed themselves to be worthy successors to the Iksvaku-Cutu-Kadamba cult and cultural traditions, when they declared themselves as *of the Manavya-gotra,* as *the sons of goddess Hariti*, as *the sons reared by the Saptamatrikas* and as *the devotees of Kartikeya.*

Between the time of Iksvakus and Chalukyas, Deccan society slowly drifted away from the matriarchal order. Several families that ruled between the fourth and sixth centuries either refrain from appending their individual mother's names, or mention themselves as *bhappa-bhattarakas* or *pitrbhaktas*, staunch advocates of the latter being the Vakatakas, Pallava, Salankayanas, Early Kalinga rulers, not to mention the distant Guptas. Whether this also led to the imposition of the patriarchal social order from the top, through ruling families, by the newly arrived *brahmanas,* we do not know; but it is certain that the middle and the lower strata of the southern society did not fully abandon their matriarchal system. After a period of co-existence, probably of conflict, a compromise between the two systems seems to have taken place centuries later; but we shall not go into it here.

V From Prakrit to Sanskrit and Vernacular Medium:

Ever since the Buddha "prohibited his disciples from writing his dialogues in *chhandas* (Vedic and Sanskrit language)[73], Prakrit, as the language of the people, had become the main medium of communication in official records as well as in literary works. The Deccan (between third century B.C., and third century A.D.) did not claim exception to this, for, we have here only the Prakrit records. The Iksvakus (third century A.D.), Early Pallavas (late third to mid-fourth century), Brihatphalayanas (early fourth century) and some records of the Anandas (late third to seventh century?) and Salankayanas (fourth decade of the fourth century, to the first quarter of the fifth century) and the early records of the Abhiras, Mudunandas, Cutu-Satakarnis (all in *c.* third century A.D.), on both the coasts communicated in this language. Although the Iksvaku, Ananda and Salankayana periods witnessed a transition from Prakrit medium to that of Sanskrit, it was not until the middle of the fourth century that *the heterodox medium* was rejected in the Deccan by the Kadambas of Banavasi, Gangas of Kolalapura, Visnukundin of Vengi, Later Pallavas of Kanci and the Matharas of Kalinga. Following this track, one can also find the Hinduization of the socio-political order of the Deccan.

The *beginning of this process can be traced in the Nagarjuna valley* and under the Iksvakus; interestingly enough, their first records in chaste Sanskrit converse about the *devakulas* and *deva-danas.* The Siva temples at Nagarjunakonda received permanent endowments not so much from royalty as from the Hindu nobility which was gradually rising in the official hierarchy. However, Sanskrit makes a humble beginning in the late third century (as did the Hindu temple-building activity), without revealing any signs of danger to the position and prestige of Prakrit (and to Buddhism—its viharas and stupas).[74] This transition from Prakrit to Sanskrit medium brought about some changes in the format of the recording system, as well as changes in socio-religious attitudes. The Mathara kings of Kalinga partly continued the antique Satavahana mode of dating, but in all other respects they anticipated the format followed in subsequent centuries.[75] The reckoning based on the regnal year of the ruling king was no doubt continued, but a slow drift towards systematization—by naming the month, apart from the season, is noticed in a record of the Salankayanas.[76] The need for chronicling with clarity had been, however, recognized in the third-fourth centuries A.D., and the Abhiras in the west (Kalacuri-Cedi) and the Gangas of Kalinga in the east had begun their eras. A broadbased calendar, transcending the dynastic limitation, did not come into the lower Deccan reckoning system until the Chalukyas of Badami adopted the *Saka*-era in their records.[77]

The process of 'Sanskritization' and 'Brahmanization' (or more crudely called 'Aryanization') of the south has already received considerable attention, though not as much scientific scrutiny. That this triumph of the brahmana over the bhikku was however accompanied by the assertion of the local media is not so well known.

The Gorantla and Mattepad Sanskrit copper plates, ending with Prakrit names of donees, mark a stage in the Sanskritization of official communication.[78] This trend is also seen in the early records of Karnataka, found at Malvalli and Hirehadagali; here Prakrit grants end up with Sanskrit verses.[79] This *departure may be detected in the Deccan in the Sanskrit records of the Iksvakus*, where Prakrit expressions and phrases are retained and in which no attempt has been made to Sanskritize the Prakrit personal name.[80] In the lower-western Deccan, Sanskrit records begin to emerge during the Kadamba-Ganga time, a period which also marked the rise of the local Kannada language. The dates of the records found at Tagarti, Nanjanagud, Sirigunda are still disputed,[81] but not so much the Halmidi inscription assigned to *c.* A.D. 450. The crude Kannada text of this record at Halmidi was obviously composed by a great Sanskrit poet, for, with the exception of twenty Kannada words the rest of it is in Sanskrit.[82] A Ganga record assigned to A.D. 480, by Rice (but disputed by others), contains as much as ninety percent Kannada words.[83] Neither of these two records is, however, accepted for its literary excellence; for, *we do not meet the fully developed literary style in the local idiom until we meet the Chalukyan record at Badami* and its contemporary record at Sravana Belgola.[84] The emergence of Kannada language is not an isolated factor in Deccan history, for, we find concurrent movements in the Andhra Pradesh. "During this period", says Bühler, "the character of the Western and Eastern documents do not differ much . . . and in the first half of the 7th century the letters of the Chalukya inscriptions from Vatapi and from Vengi show an almost perfect resemblance."[85] So were the temples built on the banks of the Malaprabha and at the confluence of Krisna-Tungabhadra. Kannada and Telugu maintained a common script for a long time as they were nourished by a common family of patrons.[86]

What is noteworthy here is the synchronization of Chalukyan temple architecture, in its fully developed form, with the appearance of Kannada records of high literary excellence in Karnataka paralleled by the emergence of a fully developed Hindu temple-style and Telugu literary form in Andhra Pradesh. Both developed during the period when the Chalukyas dominated the Deccan and controlled the destinies of the east and west coasts from Vatapi and Vengi. In this respect, the Chalukyas appear to have contributed from their central base as much to the enrichment of the east and west coasts as they borrowed from the two sides of the peninsula.

From Bhikku to Brahmana Order:

Prior to the third century, the Buddhist bhikkus dominated the east and west coasts, established monasteries and stupas, attracted patronage, and commanded respect, but in the mid-Deccan—in the present Karnataka—their influence was at best nominal and peripheral. This is evident from the history of the post-Satavahana period of the lower mid-Deccan and from the fact that none of its rulers whole-heartedly identified himself with Buddhism. However, it does not mean that they were antagonistic to this movement or that they were averse to its cultural and artistic excellence.

If the upper coastal lines passed under the Buddhists, the mid-Deccan and the whole of southern peninsula were, to a considerable extent, shared by the Jains and Hindus. After casting its spell for about half a millennium, Buddhism began to wane, and in the next half a millennium its popularity began to trickle in select centres of the peninsula. The emergence of the brahmanas in the Deccan and their dominance of the religious scene, created a new order, of which the temple-style forms a part.

The *Brahmanas as a social group appear to be first seen in the late third century* when a dozen and odd Saiva temples were built and permanent endowments made for their upkeep in the Iksvaku kingdom.[87] We meet, however, the earliest(?) *brahmadeya* in the east coast in a Brihatphalayana record which was established for the benefit of eight brahmanas of various *gotras* (names);[88] in the south-west, this honour appears to go to the rulers over Malavalli.[89] In the eastern instance, the king has been given not only the *gotra*, but also the *varma* (*ksatriya*) suffix while the brahmanas have been individually assured of land-shares, immunities (*pariharas*) and independence from state interference. Assured of subsistence and support from the head of the state, and a little later by the aristocracy, the brahmanas appear to have launched a movement to popularize Hinduism. Elevating the *dana* to the highest level, they urged all persons in possession of power, position and riches to make gifts to brahmanas and to their institutions. They codified the gains in such a way that all this had to pass through, or pass into, their own hands. The temples and *agraharas* multiplied with the multiplication of the migrant brahmanas; the power of the priests increased with an improvement in their economic status. When more riches flowed in, more elaborate became the temple construction; more populous became the *agraharas.* This feature covers the lower Deccan, from coast to coast, after fourth century A.D. The kings began to accept the promptings of the brahmanas with an element of pride, and to identify themselves with the ideals of *purusarthas, varnasrama,* the *dana,* the *yajnas,* besides accepting the *gotras,* and domestic rituals. In the process, their personal and family prestige was considerably boosted. In fact, almost all the early families of the Deccan bear the *gotra* names, and some of them claim that they were *parama-brahmanyas.* For the first time, we also encounter references to the *sanatana-dharma* in records.[90]

All this indicates the triumph of the brahmana over the bikkhus and the emergence of new ideas, a new class, a new influence, and new values in society. The transition from Buddhism to Hinduism, and the gradual expansion of the latter and its penetration into the royal household, can be seen from an increasing fall in the royal patronage to Buddhism. We know of no Buddhist king who ruled from Banavasi and Kolalapura-Talkad, the two seats of royal power in the present Karnataka area, between the fourth and seventh century A.D.

VI The Character of the Age-in-the-Making

This age-in-the-making (fourth to seventh century A.D.) not only led even the so-called *Buddhist kings* to accept *Srutis, Smritis* and *Manu,* to make grants to the Brahmanas as well as to perform Vedic rites, but also enabled the successful Sudra (of tribal or local origin) to assume the *varma* suffix to his name, in order to obtain a *varna (ksatriya)* status. Some declare themselves to be *Brahma-Ksatriyas* (Visnukundis); some accept Brahmana status (Salankayana, Bharadhvaja, Pallavas, Brihatphalayanas, etc.); while yet others, instead of enduring the subordination of the *brahma* to *ksatra,* abandon the *kusa* grass and the sacrificial ladle, to take up the shining sword of the *ksatriya* (Kadamba). During the post-Maurya and Rastrakuta periods, we do not meet a family of rulers in the whole of Deccan which does not perform one or the other *yajnas,* whether they are identified by historians as 'Buddhist' or 'Jain' or 'Hindu'. The advantages of the *yajnas* were exploited by the ksatriya as well as the brahmana—the former to claim or gain a political status, the latter to gain grain, land, cows, virgins, and gold (*satata-bhumi-go-kanya-hiranya*).[91] Both, no doubt, strove to preserve or promote their social status.

A. Emergence of Agraharas:

We have implied above that the age-in-the-making provided first for the priestly class and then for the gods they advocated. This development becomes meaningful if we bear in mind the loose link between the *agrahara* and temples in the first half of the millennium after the Iksvakus, and their close bond in medieval times, especially during the time of Chalukyas of Kalyani and Hoysalas of Dorasamudra and of their contemporaries in south India. Impetus to temple-building comes from the brahmanas soon after the process of brahmanization of the Deccan gets going. This is evident from the post-Iksvaku records of the eastern, western and lower Deccan. A careful study of the published records relating to the *agraharas, brahmadeyas, bhattavrittis* reveals the following pattern:

(a) Every dynasty that ruled between the middle of the third and beginning of the seventh century established brahmana settlements.

(b) Establishment of a large number of brahmanas was not very popular, though such instances were not altogether unknown. We have instances of settling 14, 8, 157, 43, 22, 48, 80, 85 and 23 brahmanas.[92]

(c) Although we may presume that the *agraharas* were also provided with temples, there is not enough evidence to hold that the former had become temple centres.[93]

(d) A kind of pattern is seen in the process of the establishment of brahmana settlements. All establishments emanate from royal decrees and are nearly always imposed on cultivators. A quantitative analysis indicates that the maximum number of *agraharas* were established by the Kadambas;[94] nonetheless, the contribution of the Pallavas, Gangas and Visnukundis in reviving the dharma—(*kaliyuga-dos-avasanna-dharmoddharana-nitya-sannaddha*)[95] was not insignificant.

B. Temple—More an Idea than a Style:

Though inter-connection between the *agrahara* centres and temples is not explicit in the majority of early records, there is no doubt that the brahmana settlements were either soon accompanied or followed by the temples. We have not as yet got reliable data relating to the Hindu temples constructed between the fall of the Iksvakus and the rise of the Western Chalukyas and Later Pallavas. However, the following information, though tentative in character, may point out the main trends of the movement:

In the eastern Deccan, as already observed, we get only stray references to temples built between about A.D. 350 and A.D. 550. We learn that the Brihatphalayana king was a devotee of Siva—*mahessarapada-parigahata*[96]—but from the only record found so far, we are not able to know whether they made any effort to build temples. The Anandas (who appear from the beginning of the fourth to the seventh centuries) were Buddhist to begin with, and their association with the temples is limited to the renovation of some structures, including probably the Kapotesvara at Cezerla, in seventh century A.D.[97] The Salankayanas adopted the bull crest like the Pallavas, and Citrarathasvami, the Sun-God, as their titular deity; being the earliest sun-worshipping royal family in the eastern Deccan, they may have built a temple for this god at Vengi, but we are not able to get confirmation. The fifth king Nandivarma II (*c.* A.D. 395-410) gave *devakula* to a Visnugriha, probably soon after building this temple at Pralura.[98] During the early Pallava period also, temple building activity was hardly noticeable, the Kuli-Mahatara-Devakula for God Narayana being the only exception.[99] However, the *devakula* lands mentioned in the Pallava records, indirectly indicate that there were some temples in their kingdom.[100] Architecturally these early temples were probably hardly distinguishable from the brick-mortar, or mud-timber, dwelling houses of the commoners; no less important than this was the fact that the temple was yet to gain architectural respectability and socio-religious stature. The Visnukundis (i.e. of A.D. 350-610) of Sriparvata, despite their distinct inclination towards orthodoxy, emerge no better in records as builders of temples. They probably elevated the spiritual sanctity of Sriparvata and made it a strong Saiva centre; some of them took pride in calling themselves *parama-mahesvaras* and *parama-brahmanya*; all the Madhavavarmas of this dynasty financed an incredible number of *yajnas* and *yagas*; but, apart from stray references to Vinayaka and Somagirisvaranatha temples,[101] we meet only the Buddhist viharas in their records.[102] Although the family and the personal names of several rulers of this dynasty are Vaisnavaite, no evidence is found of the popularity of Visnu-worship in their kingdom. Casual reference to Visnu (Govinda and the Muraripu mounted on Garuda), are, however, made.

The above details reveal (1) that the concept of temple-building was just emerging in the society's imagination, but high priority was given not to it but to the Brahmadeya-establishment; (2) that though gods were worshipped, the idea of eleborate temples for them, with sustaining financial support, was still an indistinct one; (3) that the rise of Hinduism did not fully hinder Buddhist activities, especially in erecting new *viharas* and *stupas,* but the number of such establishments was gradually declining; (4) and that the whole of lower eastern Deccan offered very little scope for Jaina establishments during this period.

In the western and lower mid-Deccan (the present Karnataka and Goa) ruled by the Kadambas, Western Gangas and their feudatories, temple-building was more active than in the area already examined. The Early Ganga and Kadamba history still poses several riddles, and it is hazardous today to make any quantitative analysis; however, the following pattern, may be noted:

(1) After a Cutu princess and a queen of Mahabhoja gifted an image of the *naga*, a tank and a *vihara* at Banavasi, Buddhist evidence is hardly found in the present Karnataka until we come to the times of Ganga Madhavavarman III and of Kadamba-Kekeya rule in the Honnavara region.[103] These records, which respectively refer to a Buddhasatva temple(?) and a monastery of the Arya-sangha, are the nearest to the Chalukyas, to link their Buddhist vihara at Aihole and of their supposed patronage of Buddhism in the upper west coast.[104]

(2) Madhavavarman II, in a solitary instance of Ganga patronage of Hinduism through temple construction, after establishing a new town called Sangamapura in Sendrakavisaya, also gave several copper vessels, a bull and an (?) image of Visnu, along with five villages and a prayer hall to twentytwo Brahmins in about A.D. 500.[105] Though the text is not clear about the Visnu image, we have the nearest association of *agrahara* with a probable temple here. Visnu temples are also rarely referred to in the early Kadamba records, and we are not certain whether the fragmentary Banavasi record of Kadamba Mrigesavarma (?)[106] has any relevance to Visnu, for we have to remember here that the Kadambas often invoke various deities in a general context.[107] Hari, Hara and Hiranyagarbha are together invoked in a record; in another record, Visnu is hailed as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe; in one record Jina and Siva are together praised in one place, while a vivid description of Brahma is given in yet another.[108] It is obvious from this that they were not so deeply committed to any sect or religion as to make them upholders of a particular faith. As with the convention of the time, the rulers remained above sectarian or religious rivalries and commitments and allowed their subjects to take their sympathy and support for granted. The documents of the time betray the bias of the record-composer more obviously than that of the ruling king; hence, we should take cautious note of the claims made on behalf of the ruler.

(3) Saivism, however, received considerable attention from the rulers as it was the religion of the majority. Siva temples were erected or renovated by the Kadambas at Malavalli, Bennur, Talagunda and some other centres.[109] The Western Gangas were claimed to be dedicated to 'gurus', cows and brahmanas and hailed as "worshippers of gods, gurus and brahmanas". According to the claims made, Tadangala Madhava (mid-fifth century) was devoted to Triyambaka (Siva), Avinita was *'haracaranaravindapranipata'*, and Durvinita was a devotee of Kamalodhara and Katyayani.[110] A considerable number of records invoke Padmanabha as well as Sankara, but we have yet to come across an explicit reference to any Siva temple built by Gangas before A.D. 600. This is surprising because the Jains were setting examples both in the Ganga and Kadamba territory during this period, while the Saiva temples had begun to become popular in the Kadamba and Bhoja territory in the mid-Deccan. While the Parvatisvara and Elesvara temples at Nundem[111] bear testimony to the Bhoja patronage, the Pancalinga cave or the Mahalaya at Arvalem forms a land-mark in Hindu architectural history, because it is the earliest surviving example of a rock-cut cave for Siva in south India.[112]

Jains set the Path in the Lower Western Deccan:

Absence of evidence in the eastern half of the lower Deccan, and paucity of material between Kalinga and Kanci, make it difficult to assess the share of the Jains in popularizing ecclesiastical settlements and institutions. In the western half, however, the situation is so different that their role cannot be ignored. Under the Western Gangas and Kadambas the Jains held an important position, and forged themselves to the forefront winning royal patronage and participation. Though a clear distinction between the Jaina monastic centres and temple-establishment is not found, for, they are almost invariably mentioned together, a quantitative analysis reveals that more Jinalayas were built between fourth and sixth century A.D., in the western half of the lower Deccan than temples to any Hindu or Buddhist gods.

Since a lot of ink has already been spilled on the period of the migration of the Jains into South India and on the religious affiliation of the Western Gangas, we shall not go again into those questions. But evidence at our disposal suggests that by about the mid-fourth century A.D., Jainism was so well rooted in Karnataka that it could not but be given a second priority by the ruling families.

The early records of the Gangas cannot be dated with accuracy (hence, to that extent, the following quantitative analysis is bound to be limited); there is, however, not much of a problem with their records from the mid-fourth century. We learn from these that the *Arhat temple of Mulasangha* received a grant from Madhavavarma and Kongunivarma and the *Sri-Vijaya-Jinalaya at Talavanapura* from Avinita. Another *basadi of Yapaniya Sangha,* established by the mother of Pallava Simhavisnu, is also patronized by this ruler.[113] If a later record is to be believed, Durvinita constructed a Jinalaya at Kogali while the so-called spurious plates of British Museum reveal that Muskara also built a *basadi* in the middle of the sixth century.[114] After A.D. 600, the Ganga patronage of Jainism becomes intense, but its examination is not relevant there.

In the Kadamba kingdom, the royal involvement was as direct and deep as in the Ganga's, and we encounter several temples and preceptors who belonged to various *sanghas* and *ganas.* Halsi (Palasike), Kadamba's second capital in the present Belgaum Dt., became the heartland of Jains in the western half of the lower Deccan. Records found in this town[115] reveal that a number of Jinalayas were built and grants were given by the Kadamba kings and princes like Kakutsvarma, Ravivarma, Bhanuvarma and Harivarma. Some of these acts are said to have been undertaken in devotion to the king's father or mother, or, on the biddings of a king's uncle.

Besides these Jinalayas at Halsi, they also established ecclesiastical centres and institutions in widely distributed areas. The Devagiri plates of the third year of Mrigesavarma, the Koremanga (Devanagere) plates of the thirtyfourth year of Ravivarma, the Gudnapur stone inscription of late fifth century A.D., Devagiri Plate I of Krisnavarma etc., bear this out.[116] Besides the Yapaniya Sangh, and Svetapata Mahasravana Sangh at Halsi, references are also made to Nirgrantha Mahasravana Sangha, Mula Sangha, and Sramana Sanghas.

The Jaina monastic units were closely linked with their temples, and the preceptors often figure as recipients of grants on behalf of Arhanta-Jinendras, Sanghas and Siddhas.[117] Rituals, festivals and observances were multiplied, and eleborate rules were laid down for the unbroken continuity of observances at Halsi.

The cult-practices among the Jains had advanced to such a degree as to accommodate gods and demi-gods whose roots lay either in the common ground of tribal or folk traditions, or in the Vedic or Puranic traditions of Hinduism. We get the earliest reference to the temple of Padmavati at Kallili, and to a temple of Manmatha called Kama-Jinalaya (interpreted as the temple of Bahubali) in a Kadamba inscription of late fifth or early sixth century A.D., not far away from Banavasi.[118] As the contemporaries of early Kadambas, the early Rastrakutas seem to have had in their Sendraka feudatories the followers of Jina.[119] Being nearest in time and space, the Chalukyas of Badami apparently integrated all these developed cults and cult practices, and continued to offer patronage to Jainism on the scale the like of which this religion had not hitherto received in the western half of the mid-Deccan.

VII

The above study reveals that the Chalukyas of Badami absorbed several of the socio-spiritual elements popularized by their predecessors in the west and east coasts. Where the cultural impact of the ruling dynasties was not penetrative enough—as in the lower mid-Deccan—they became heirs to the distant and dormant cultures (the Megalithic and early-historic); and, by judiciously borrowing what suited themselves and their influential subjects, the Chalukyas enriched their heartland. The upper west coast seems to have exerted itself first on them through two distinct channels: one, through a chain of ancient caves (third century B.C. to third century A.D.) almost invariably Buddhist in affiliation, whose patrons were Satavahanas and some of their successors; another, through cave and structural temples, Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu in affiliation (early fourth to sixth century A.D.), whose patrons nearer home-land were definitely Kadambas and Bhojas but probably also Vakatakas and Guptas in the far west. While these monuments literally overlooked the expanding political boundaries and changing cultural aspirations of the newly born kingdom, often inspiring and quite often intimidating the imperialist-in-the-making, more definite and diverse influences appear to have flowed from the east coast, especially from Nagarjunakonda. We have searched for the beginnings—the brahmanization of the spiritual outlook, Hinduization of the apsidal architectural plan, more definite signs of popularization of the cults of Kartikeya, Hariti and Lajja-Gauri, clearer signs of decorative idiom and architectural vocabulary, from *kapota* to *purna-kumbha*, etc., at Nagarjunakonda and its immediate neighbourhood. With their capitals at Vatapi and Vengi, the Chalukyas bridged the west with the east coast more effectively than even the Satavahanas, with their fluctuating power-centres, had been able to achieve; as heirs to the twin traditions, the Chalukyas integrated the important ingredients of all that had gone on in the lower mid-Deccan and in parts of the east and west coasts. But the Chalukyas did not merely imitate and implement: it was not the style of an independent and imperialist power. They heralded and lived through an age when Jainism and Hinduism were exploiting the temple media to their greatest advantage. The lower Deccan had never in its history witnessed as thick a congregation of Hindu spiritual leaders (Brahmanas) and spiritual establishments (temples) as now.

The Chalukyan *roots* may be traced back to proto-art-historic times. Their cultural *relations* with the Satavahana-Iksvakus may be argued on the basis of the material evidence which reveals their direct succession, but the *relevance* of the movement they launched is to be understood in the context of the politico-cultural developments that took place during the two centuries of their rule. This makes it obvious that as much of Chalukyan art was being made during their rule, when they came into contact as well as conflict with several forces all round, as it was *made* up of the earlier traditions developed in the peninsula. If the Vakatakas and Guptas led the Chalukyas in this field, we need as definite evidence as we have found in the Deccan itself before we could respect that contention.

— S. SETTAR

NOTES and REFERENCES

1. See Section IV of this essay, under "Hariti and Saptamatrika Traditions".
2. See Section VI of this essay for pre-Chalukyan temples and n.77 below for Saka era.
3. Sundara, A.: *The Early Chamber Tombs of South India* (Delhi, 1975), p.31. It is of some interest to note that only sand-stone is used for the purpose between Ainapur (Kolhapur Dt.) and Aihole (Bijapur Dt.), while sand-stone, lime-stone and granite are used, though the first is favoured, while erecting megaliths between Pattadakal and Rajanakolla. As if the *architect* of this proto-historic period was obsessed with the media-problem; and that he was required to experiment with all available media before making a final choice, we find him using sand, lime and granite-stones. At Pattadakal, two megaliths stand side by side, one made up of sand-stone and another of granite; elsewhere, some instances are found with one orthostat made of sand-stone, another of granite. However, at Aihole only sand-stone is used. My knowledge of these details is derived from a discussion with Dr. A. Sundara.
4. Burgess, J., "The Dolmens at Konnur and Aithole", *Indian Antiquary*, III, pp.306-8.
5. Cousens, H., *The Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts* (Calcutta, 1926), pp.128-9.
6. Sundara, *op.cit.*, pp.30 ff. etc.
7. Of the temples excavated in the last couple of years, a Siva temple near the Chekki-Gudi, Aihole, and those found in Pattadakal complex are noteworthy. I owe my knowledge of the site at Aihole to Ms. Carol Bolon, who kindly showed me the plan of the temple prepared by her and to Dr. S. Rajasekhara, who shared his knowledge of Aihole and Pattadakal temples with me.
8. See Section III of this essay, under "Precedents in Architectural Plans and Patterns". See also n.13 below.
9. Considerable amount of controversy exists on the dates of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina caves of upper west coast, claiming and denying patronage of Western Chalukyas, but historical evidence favours the Chalukyan occupation of this area from the time of Kirtivarma-Mangalesa in which lay major centres like Elephanta, Jogesvari, Kanheri, Aurangabad, Ellora, Ajanta etc.
10. Subrahmanyam, R., *Salihundam—A Buddhist Site in Andhra Pradesh.* (Hyderabad, 1964), pp.8 ff.
11. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1961-62, p.77; *Ancient India*, No.16, p.84.
12. Subrahmanyam, *op.cit.*, see map facing p.17.
13. Krishna Murthy, K., *Nagarjunakonda—A Cultural Study* (New Delhi, 1977), p.9.
14. Fergusson, J. and Burgess, J., *The Cave Temples of India*, pp.55 ff; Mitra, R., *Antiquities of Orissa* II (Calcutta, 1880), pp.1 ff; Mitra, D., *Udayagiri and Khandagiri* (New Delhi, 1960); Brown, P., *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu periods)* (Bombay, 1977), pp.28-30; Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II (Delhi, 1967), pp.9-18.
15. Sarkar, H., *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (Delhi, 1966), pp.15, 16 and 22.
16. Sarkar, H., *Ancient India*, No.66, pp.65-84; Krishna Murthy, *op.cit.*, pp.4 ff.
17. Krishna Murthy, *op.cit.*, p.10; see also Rao, P.R.R., *The Art of Nagarjunakonda* (Madras, 1956), pp.11-15.
18. *Ibid.*, pp.4, 6 and 10.
19. *Epigraphica Indica* XXXIII, No.27; *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, pp.8 ff.
20. See *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1956-57, p.36.
21. Soundar Rajan, K. V., "Architecture of the Early Hindu Temples in Andhra Pradesh", *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Survey, No. 21.*
22. Soundar Rajan, *Indian Temple Styles* (New Delhi, 1972), p.96.
23. Sarkar, H., *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (Delhi, 1966), Table I, pp.29 ff; Fig.27.
24. *Ibid.*, pp.25-6.
25. Subrahmanyam, *op.cit.*, Pls.VIII and XXII.
26. Sundara A., *op.cit.*, see in particular Figs 8, 16 and 1.
27. Sarkar, H., *op.cit.*, p.27.
28. For example at Ajanta, Ellora and Dhammar—see Fergusson and Burgess, *op.cit.*, pp.315,343,377 and 393.
29. Sarkar, H., *op.cit.*, p.42.
30. Brown, *op.cit.*, pp.40-41.

31. Wheeler, R. E. M., *Ancient India,* No.4, Fig.2, p.186.
32. *Progress of Archaeology in Karnataka* (1956-72) (Mysore, 1978), P1.IX; *Puratatva,* No.4, pp.56-7.
33. *A Decade of Archaeological Studies in South India* (Dharwad, 1978), p.95.
34. The Siva temple at Hale Mahakuta, the Durga temple (see also n.7 above), at Aihole and the apsidal structures at Satyavolu and Papanasam bear this out.
35. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture* (Simla, 1928), Pt.II, P1.XI, p.20.
36. *Ibid.*, Pt.III, pp.23-4, Pt.XII.
37. Soundar Rajan, "Architecture of the Early Hindu Temples in Andhra Pradesh", *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Survey,* No.21, p.4.
38. *Indian Archaeology—A Review,* 1956-57, p.36.
39. For Ellesvaram, see *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (1955-56), pp.29-30.
40. Rama Rao, M. Studies in Andhra Temples, *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Survey,* No.30 (Hyderabad, 1970), pp.1-3.
41. Soundar Rajan, *Indian Temple Styles* (New Delhi, 1972), p.41.
42. *Epigraphica Indica* XXXIII, No.27.
43. Rama Rao, *op.cit.*, pp.4-5.
44. *Indian Archaeology—A Review,* 1956-57, pp.36-7, Pls.LVII, B and C; Pl.LIV, B; Inscription, Pl.LIX; temple site, Pl.LIV, A.
45. Sirkar, D. C., *Successors of the Satavahanas in the Lower Deccan* (Calcutta, 1939), pp.18-20.
46. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* IV, p.CXLVII, n.IX; also see *Epigraphica Indica* XXVII, p.4, n.4.
47. Such as Skanda-naga-Sataka or Skandasvati—Rapson, E. J., *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, the Traikuṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty.* (A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Reprint, London 1967 and New Delhi, 1975), etc., (1908), Pl.LII.
48. Sirkar, D.C., *op.cit.*, pp.238 ff.
49. *Epigraphica Indica* XXVIII, pp.12 ff; see also XIX, pp.102 ff, and XXI, pp.155 ff., etc.
50. *Indian Antiquary* V, pp.67-73.
51. For example, in Lohaner plates of Pulikesi II, it is stated that they were *Svami-mahasena-padanudhiyatam,* while in almost all later records they are stated to be *Kartikeya-pariraksana-prapta-kalyana-paramparanam.*
52. Soundar Rajan, *Indian Temple Styles* (New Delhi, 1972), p.39; see also Uma-mahesvara found at Kudne; Gune, V. T., *Ancient Shrines of Goa—A pictorial study* (Panjim, 1965), Fig. 25.
53. *Najna*-naked; *ka*-water; *bandha*-imprisoned or embarked. Also *Kabandha* means a body without the head.
54. Images of this goddess are found in all these centres. In Siddanakolla two of her images are noticed. The Badami image originally belonged to Naganatha. I am obliged to Ms. Carol Bolon for allowing me to consult her collection of photographs of this area and to Dr. S. Rajasekhara for sparing some of his photographs for my study.
55. *Epigraphica Indica,* XXIX, pp.137 ff; see Plate facing p.139.
56. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India,* 1911-12, p.128; and 1908-9, p.149, n.3.
57. These plaques are not so far published. I owe this information to Sri H. Sarkar of Archaeological Survey of India.
58. Getty, A., *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Tokyo, 1962), pp.84 ff.
59. Banarjee, J. N., *Development of the Hindu Iconography,* pp.381-3.
60. See their reliefs in the Ajanta Cave II—Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Yaksas* (New Delhi, 1971), P1. V(1); Gupta, R. S. and Mahajan. B. D., *Ajanta and Ellora and Aurangabad Caves* (Bombay, 1962), Pl.XXIV.
61. Rao, B. V. K., *History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa* (Madras, 1942), pp.37-9.
62. *Epigraphica Indica,* XXXIV, 17-20; *Journal of Oriental Research,* XXI, pp.59 ff; *Indian Archaeology—A Review,* 1956-57, p.36, Pl.LVII.
63. Sastri, K. A. N., *History of South India,* p.99.
64. Sastri, K. A. N. (Ed.), *Comprehensive History of India,* II (Oriental Longmans, 1957), pp.325 ff.
65. *Epigraphica Indica,* XX, p.22.
66. Sarkar, H., *op.cit.*, p.78.
67. *Epigraphica Indica,* XXIV, pp.197 ff; *Indian Archaeology—A Review,* 1958-59, Pl.Va.
68. *Indian Archaeology—A Review,* 1954-55, pp.22 ff.; and Site VII-A.
69. Rao, P. R. R.: *The Art of Nagarjunakonda* (Madras, 1956), p.25. This lime-stone image is badly mutilated, and at present only her lower half is found. The image is however dated in the fourth century A.D. "The discovery of the temple", says Rao, "is of great moment to early Andhra history, because it fixes, with near certainty, the vexed origin of the Calukya dynasty, described in their inscriptions as Haritiputras (sons of Hariti), who allied to the Iksvakus by marital ties, were certainly their presumptive successors," (*Ibid*).
70. *Epigraphica Indica,* XXXII, p.86.
71. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* V, p.96.
72. *Epigraphica Indica,* IX, p.271; *A New History of the Indian People,* Vol.IV; Majumdar, R. C., and Altekar, A. S.: *The Vakataka Gupta Age* (Delhi, 1967), p.115.
73. Pandey, R. B., *Indian Paleography* (Banares, 1952), p.40.
74. The records of the first four rulers of the Pallava dynasty (*c.* A.D. 257-350) of the only known Brihatphalayana ruler (early fourth century), the first of the Salankayanas (c. A.D. 300-335), those of the early Kadambas at Malavalli, Chandravalli, and Banavasi are in Prakrit. But a sudden shift is seen from Prakrit to Sanskrit in early fourth century. The Ananda kings, whose chronology is disputed (*c.* 290-630; 375-500; 6th-7th

centuries), issued records in Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit, marking a transition from one order to another (Sircar, D. C., *op.cit.*, pp.56-8). Similarly the inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda *(Epigraphica Indica* XXXIV, pp.19 ff) "betray prakrit influence" and make no attempt at Sanskritizing Prakrit names. Incidentally this inscription refers to the devakula for Bhagavat Pushpabhadrasvami. From the middle of the fourth century, the Mathara kings of Kalinga (*c.* A.D. 375-500), the Salankayanas from Vijayanandi-Varman (*c.* A.D. 350-420), the Salankayanas of Vengi (from *c.* 350), the Kadambas of Banavasi (with the exceptions mentioned above), the Gangas of Kolalapura and Talakad, used Sanskrit to publicize their activity.

75. Sastri, K. A. N., *op.cit.*, p.106.
76. Rao, B. V. K., *op.cit.*, p.332. This was an improvement over the early practices of the Satavahanas—see, Sastri, *op.cit.*, p.105.
77. While the credit for popularizing the Saka era goes to the Chalukyas of Badami, for they invariably use it in their records, a recently found record (1967) of Vakatakas in Maharashtra (*Epigraphica Indica*, XXXVII, pp.1-4) has snatched away the credit given to the Chalukyas so far by historians. The earliest record of the Chalukyas is dated in A.D.543, whereas the Vakataka record belongs to A.D.462.
78. Sircar, D. C., *op.cit.*, p.58.
79. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, Sk.264; Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol.I (Calcutta, 1965), pp.461-6
80. See n.74 above.
81. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, VII, Sk.52 of 349; III, Nj.122 of A.D. 267; VI, Cm.50 of *c.* A.D. 480.
82. See Murthy, C. M., 'Kannada Language and Literature during the Chalukyas of Badami (*c.* A.D. 540-750)', *The Chalukyas of Badami*, Ed. Rao, M. S. M. (Bangalore, 1978), p.252.
83. *Epigraphica Carnatica*, VI, Cm.50.
84. *Indian Antiquary*, X, pp.61 ff. and *Epigraphica Carnatica* II, No.88.
85. Bühler, G., *Indian Paleography* (Calcutta, 1959), p.85.
86. For the antiquity of Telugu see, *Epigraphica Indica*, XXIV, p.138; see also Murthy S.S.R., "A Study of the Telugu Inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badami", *The Chalukyas of Badami*, pp.240 ff.
87. *Annual Report, South Indian Epigraphy*, 1936-37, p.62; *Epigraphica Indica* XXXIV, pp.17-20, and XXXV, pp.4 ff.
88. *Epigraphica Indica* VI, pp.315 ff.
89. *Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, Sk.264.
90. *Epigraphica Indica* XXVII, pp.316 ff.
91. *Epigraphica Indica* IV, pp.196 ff.
92. The Anandas settled: 14. (*Epigraphica Indica* XVII, p.327); the Brhatphalayanas: 8 (*Epigraphica Indica* VI, p.315 ff); Salankayanas: 157 (*Indian Antiquary* V, pp.176 ff); Vishnukundin (feudatory Prithivimula): 43 (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XVI, pp.116 ff); the Western Gangas settled in different places: 22,48 and 80 etc., *(Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report* 1932, No.1; 1930, No.3; *Epigraphica Carnatica* XVII, Mb.328-329); while the Kadambas settled in one place: 85 (spurious Birur) and in another: 23 (*Epigraphica Indica* XIV, p.163). The normal practice was to grant a village or a part of the village to the settlers, but instances recording a gift of two, four or several villages (as many as thirteen in one case, *Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, Sk.264) are not unknown.
93. Though this is broadly true, stray references are made to various gods in the Salankayana (Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society I, p.92). Visnukundin (*Epigraphica Indica* XXXVII, pp.128 ff; (*Epigraphica Indica* IV, pp.196 ff) and Kadamba (*Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, Sk.264; V, Bl.245, *Epigraphica Indica* XVI, pp.264 ff) and Western Ganga (*Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report* 1930, No.3) records. With the exception of an instance of Malavalli, we are not able to establish connection between the agraharas and the temples. Nonetheless, it is relevant to note here that the Pallava records refer to *Devashala* and take care to exclude the temple land while creating Brahmana settlements.
94. If we take the earliest twentyfive *agraharas* established in the eastern Deccan, the establishment pattern is as follows:

    Not less than one by Brhatphalayanas (*Epigraphica Indica* VI, p.315); two by Anandas *(Epigraphica Indica* XVII, pp.327 ff; *Indian Antiquary* IX, pp.102 ff); five by Salankayanas (*Epigraphica Indica* IX, pp.57 ff; *Indian Antiquary* V, pp.176 ff; *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society* I, p.92, V, pp.21 ff); eight by Early Pallavas *(Epigraphica Indica* VI, No.8; I, p.2; VIII, p.143; XV, No.11; XXIV, No.43; XV, pp.252 ff; XXIV, No.18; III, pp.143 ff; *Bharati* XVIII, pp.698; Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, pp.196 ff.

    Nearly as many as these *agraharas* were established in the western and lower Deccan, of which, not less than sixteen owe their origin to the Kadambas (*Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, sk.264, 29 and 66; V, Bl.245; IV, Hs.18; *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report* 1936, No.10; 1943, No.1; 1925, No.118; *Epigraphica Indica* XXXII, pp.218 ff; XXXV, p.10; VIII, pp.146 ff; XVI, pp.264 ff; XVI, pp.268 ff; XIV, pp.163 ff; and *KI* II, No.1); and not less than a dozen to the Western Gangas (*Epigraphica Carnatica* XVII, CB.104; *IX*, DB.67 and 68; XVII, Sp.120, Mb.328, Mb.329; *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report* 1921, p.7; 1932, No.1; 1930, No.3 and No.30; 1942, No.31; *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report—A Survey* (Revised) III, Ed.S.Settar (Dharwad, 1975-76) pp.141 ff.etc.).
95. Sircar, D.C., *op.cit.*, pp.196-7.
96. *Epigraphica Indica*, VI, pp.315 ff.
97. *South Indian Inscriptions*, IV, pp.594-5; see also Rao, B.V.K., *Early History of Andhra*, p.335.

98. *Journal of Andhra Historical Society*, I, p.92. Their seals, however, betray unmistakable traces of Sun-worship.

99. *Epigraphica Indica*, VIII, pp.143 ff.

100. *Epigraphic Indica* XV, No.11, III, p.143 ff; see also Sircar, D.C., *op. cit.*, pp.196 ff.

101. *Epigraphica Indica* XXXVII, pp.128 ff and IV, p.196 respectively.

102. *EA* II, pp.420 ff.

103. *Epigraphica Carnatica* XVI, Tm.78 or *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report—A Study* III, pp.29 ff. of c.A.D. 400, and *Epigraphica Indica* XXXVII, pp.33-4 of late sixth century respectively. However, an image of Buddha, dated in second century, A.D. (?), has been found in the present Goa region confirming the influence of Buddhism in the west-coast—see Gune, *op.cit.*, Fig.62.

104. Settar, S., "A Buddhist Vihara at Aihole", *East and West*, N.S., XIX, 1-2, (Rome, 1969), pp.126 ff.

105. *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report*, 1930, No.3

106. *Prabuddha Karnataka* (Kannada), No.52, pp.25-9; *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Prof. P.B. Desai Felicitation volume, Dharwad, 1971), pp.57-62.

107. See *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report*, 1936, No.10; *Epigraphica Indica* VI, pp.16 ff. etc.

108. *Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, Sk. 176; *Epigraphica Indica* VI, pp.16 ff; *Indian Antiquary* VI, pp.24 ff. In Hunsur plates a vivid description of Brahma is given.

109. *Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, Sk.264; V, Bl.245; VII, Sk.176 and VII and VIII (supplement) Sk.325; and *Epigraphica Indica* XVI, No.19.

110. *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report* 1923, p.68; 1942, p.138; and *Epigraphica Carnatica* XII, Bn.141 respectively.

111. *Epigraphica Indica* XXXVII, pp.288 ff.

112. So far the date and the nature of the Arvalem caves are known from a brief, but nearly fully effaced inscription, found on one of the *lingas* of this cave. The text of this inscription has been read in three different ways. (Pissurlencar, *O Oriente Portugues* No.22, (1938), p.381; Soundar Rajan, K.V., *Indian Temple Styles*, pp.38-9, and Ramesh, K.V., *Epigraphica Indica*, XXXVII, p.282). Basing his argument on the palaeographical features of this inscription Soundar Rajan dates these caves in the late 6th and early 7th century and attributes them to the patronage of Bhoja Kadambas who are mentioned to have closely followed a practice which was. . .in vogue in the Chalukyan country." (*op.cit.*, p.38). An inscription, discovered during the course of writing this essay, by the present author and his colleague Dr. S. Rajasekhara, reveals that this mahalaya—the permanent abode of Hara, the Bhagavan Isa *(Bha)gavan-Isa-sada-sannihito-harah)*—was located in the picturesque and romantic thickets *(ramyopavana-kananah)* most suited for meditation and contemplation. On the basis of its paleographical features, this inscription can be dated between A.D. 400 and 450. Though some letters seem to anticipate the Chalukyan form almost all are broadly in agreement with the Kadamba letters found at Talagunda in (*c.* A.D. 450) and the copper plate of Mrgesvarama issued in his second regnal year. This evidence helps us to infer that the Arvalem caves were excavated about a century and a quarter earlier than the Chalukyan caves at Badami. Its simple architectural features lend support to this. On the basis of all this evidence we may conclude that the Arvalem caves are the earliest excavated Hindu temples in the Deccan. Chronologically they succeed the structural temples of Nagarjunakonda, the Buddhist cave excavations of western India on the one hand and anticipate the Chalukyan caves of Badami and Aihole on the other. The text of this record, engraved on the five facets of the *linga* (now hidden in the *yoni* portion), located in the southern cell of the cave is brought to light hereunder;

1. . *.nya salilo ramyopavana kananah*
2. . *(ga)van-Isas-sada-sannihito-harah*
3. . *.nyena tulyantadabhigami(na)*
4. . *japauscha-sthana-virasanadibhih*
5. . *.sagatva cheshtayapyagatasviha*
6. . *(na)ra-vyaghradakshinepi Mahalaya*
7. . *(no)yo-himsyatsa(ssa)patakam yu bhavet*

113. *Epigraphica Carnatica* X, Mr.73 of c. A.D. 370 and Mr.72 of A.D. 425; I, Cg.1 of A.D. 466; *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report* 1938, No.1 of A.D. 567.

114. *SII* IX (pt.I), No.117; Sheik Ali, B.S., *History of the Western Gangas*, (Mysore, 1976), p.71.

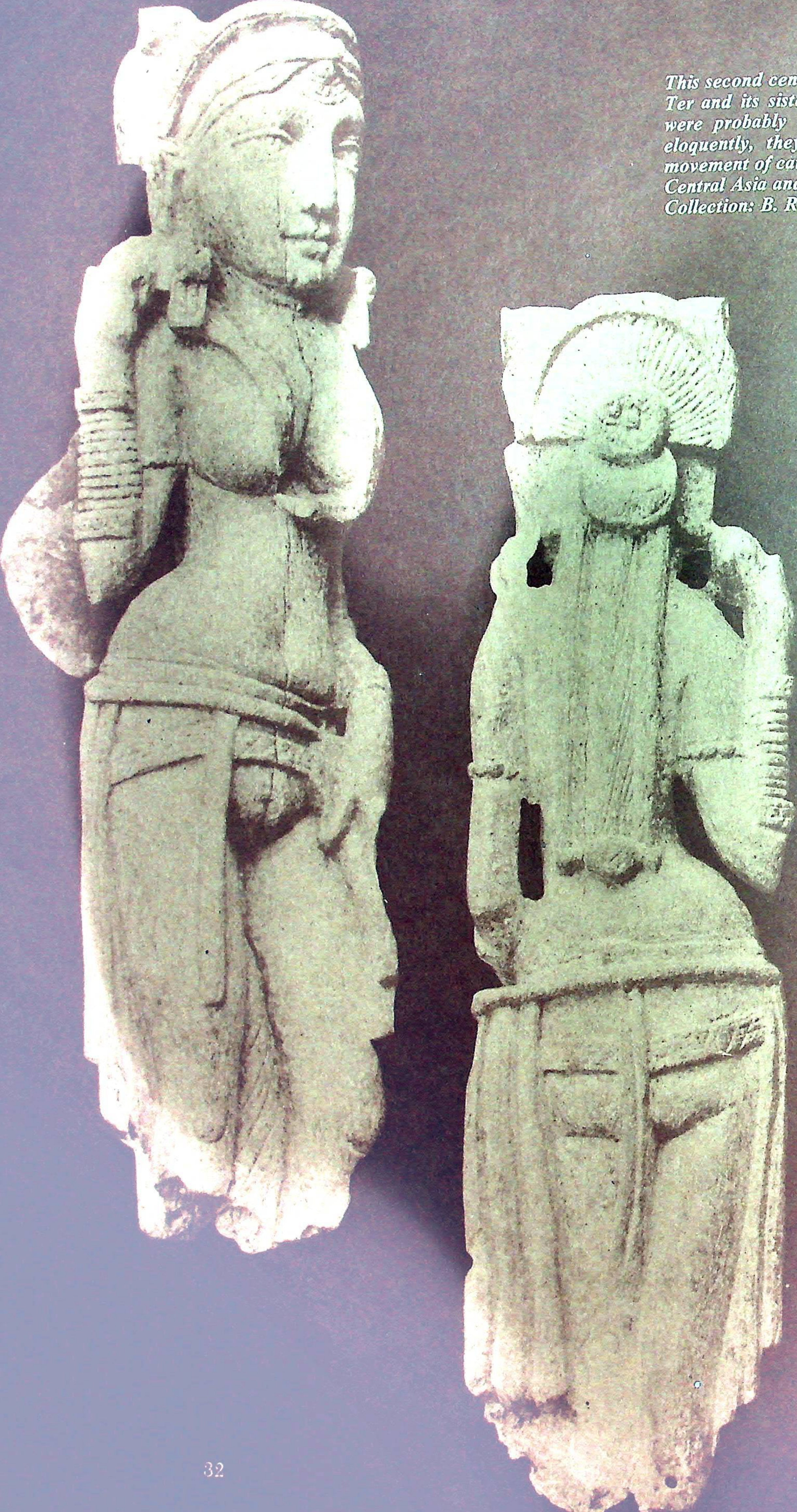
115. *Indian Antiquary* VI, pp.22-32.

116. See *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report* 1933, No.1; *Epigraphica Indica* XXXII, p.90; *Srikantika* (Mysore, 1973), pp.61-2.

117. *Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Annual Report* 1933. No.1.

118. Settar, S., "The Classical Kannada Literature and Digambara Jaina Iconography", *Aspects of Jain Art and Architecture*, ed. by Shah, U.P., and Dhaky, M.A., (Ahmedabad, 1975), pp.39-41.

119. *Epigraphica Indica* XXI, No.43.



This second century ivory carving found at Ter and its sister piece found at Pompei, were probably bases for lamps. Silently, eloquently, they testify to the intensive movement of cargoes to and from West and Central Asia and India at this time. Collection: B. R. Lamture

Aryanisation of South Indian Culture

Bavara Legend

A legend, found in the *Suttanipata*, an archaic Buddhist text, is interesting because it refers symbolically to the Aryanization of the Deccan, which was in the process of taking place in the time of Buddha, and which continued for many centuries thereafter. It concerns a certain Bavara, a Kosala Brahmin who left the capital city of Savatthi. Setting out alone, he travelled along the route to the south, the *Dakshinapatha.* After a long and hazardous journey, he stopped near the Mula and Godavari rivers. At first he adopted the ways of his tribal neighbors who were concentrated along the river beds. He caught fish and ate wild plants. Because of his knowledge of the Vedas, others gathered around him, and soon a village had grown up. A *yajna* (sacrifice) was held, but an insulted Brahmin upset the ceremony, and the perplexed Bavara sent a group of pupils back to the north to question the Buddha.

At this point, the *Suttanipata* lists the names of the stops along the route: Alaka to Paithan, which was the last stop on the *Dakshinapatha,* then on to Aurangabad, Mahesvar, Ujjain, Vidisha, Kosambi and Savatthi.

Prehistory in the Deccan

At this time, the area which a thousand years later was to become the territory of the Chalukyas in the sixth to eighth century A.D. was inhabited by wild and semi-nomadic tribes. Some were hunters and gatherers, others practiced a limited form of agriculture in which forests were burned and seed scattered in the ashes. After reaping, the tribe moved on in search of new forest land to "slash and burn." Other tribes kept sheep and goats. Fossilized dung heap finds indicate that there also was a cattle herding culture.

Neolithic

Widespread and numerous sites characterized by crudely made gray and red ware testify to the existence of settled communities whose members used ground stone implements.

Megalithic

Around 500 B.C. an intrusive megalithic culture, people who buried their dead in huge clay pots and then covered the ground with assorted arrangements of large stones, appeared throughout the area of the Deccan. They made black-and-red ware, all-black and red ware pottery, some with painted decorations, some wheel-turned; they used iron tools, arrowheads and spearheads. These forms of burials continued for a long time, and although scholars disagree, they certainly were still active around 100 B.C., if not later.

Iron

North

Iron came to north India probably about 800 B.C. with the second wave of Aryans. Maghadan territory was rich in iron deposits, and the power of the empire was in large part due to the use of iron, for armaments, for use in agriculture, for the manufacture of tools and for cooking utensils.

Deccan

In the southern Deccan, small pockets of the very finest ores, scattered around Andhra and Karnataka in jungles, attracted courageous prospectors. They found good soil in widely isolated places and settled there, far removed from the controlling power of the central government. They in turn became politically powerful in villages and towns, and the more intrepid ones began to organize their own kingdoms or make alliances with local chiefs. These kingdoms were based on northern models. In the wake of this pioneer effort, it is believed that the armies of Chandragupta Maurya and later his son Bindusara over-ran most of what is now Karnataka.

The use of iron and the iron plough may well have been known in the far south and may have been in use in the kingdoms there. The Sangam literature describes the manufacture of sophisticated iron implements and tools which indicate a long history; no doubt reflections of these conditions were felt in the southern Deccan as well.

The Aryan intrusion brought with it a pattern of hereditary kingship with all its administrative paraphernalia and changes on economic and social levels.

Kingship

D. D. Kosambi points out that the developing kingdoms in the area found a useful tool in adopting the ideology of Hinduism, which stressed devotion, loyalty and faith in god. In associating with the gods and paying them homage, the ruler assumed a kind of divine right of his own and thus assured his own permanence because of his divine connections. The injunction to carry out one's caste duties with resignation, which is the will of god, assured the ruler of docile and submissive subjects.

In India, however, the divine right of the king was never absolute. Councils of ministers, the rule of Brahmins, the guilds and the isolation of the vassals all served as checks.

Satavahana Rule

In the third century B.C., the Satavahanas began unifying these kingdoms, bringing a vast territory under their control. Their might lasted for four hundred years. King Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni (A.D. 70-95) was given the title of *Trisamudratoyapitavahana* (his subjects drank the waters of three oceans). At the height of their power, the Satavahanas ruled great parts of the Deccan. The recent discovery of a coin, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, having legends in both Brahmi and Tamil points to definite connections with the deep south.

Inland Trade

The Aryan intrusion into the Deccan did not occur either suddenly or with ease. At the time of Bavara's tale, travel southward was very difficult and dangerous because of thick forest and rivers difficult to cross. Long centuries of trade prepared the way for Satavahana conquests in the area. Passes had to be found in the Vindhya mountains, and the barriers of the Narmada, Mahanadi and Tungabhadra rivers had to be overcome. Piracy and the dangers of wild animals were additional hazards.

Market Towns

Nevertheless, the infiltration continued to take place. Inland market towns grew during these centuries, as trade became intensified. At Maski, Brahmagiri, Sravanbelagola and Banavasi in Mauryan times and later at Chandravalli, Paithan, Ter, Nasik, Vadagaon, Herakel, Karad, Govardhana, and Dharanikota large and busy emporiums bound the territory into a series of inter-related commercial units. These towns were connected with the flourishing ones further north at Ujjain, Bagh, Broach, Ghatotkacha and Ajanta, Aurangabad, Junnar, Sopara, Kalyan, Nevasa and others. In the deep south in Tamilaham, market towns also flourished and were connected with the north and with the Deccan. The capitals of the southern kingdoms were at Madurai, Kanchi, Uraiyur and Vanjii. Numerous ports and small trading villages are listed in the Sangam works.

Caravans

To carry out this inland trade, a system of regularly moving caravans was developed. They were highly professionally organized sometimes including hundreds of ox wagons, bullocks, mules, horses and sometimes elephants as well as human porters moving through the hilly rocky ground or tortuously negotiating the mountain passes of the Vindhyas and the Western Ghats (Sahyadris).

By Satavahana times, these routes were crisscrossing the country usually following the ancient tracks along the river valleys and along the east and west coasts. Thus the whole country was united in a network of roads. We assume a continual interchange of cultural and religious ideas. The Sangam literature of the Tamil kingdoms opens the door to the discovery of these communications.

One of the important reasons for the choice of Badami as capital of the Chalukyan empire was because of its position relative to the Malaprabha and Krishna rivers and the attendant road systems.

These caravans functioned as the means of transportation of goods, foodstuffs and handicrafts. By Satavahana times, and in the later years of the Gangas, Kadambas and Iksvakus, the state assumed the responsibility for maintenance and protection of highways. This included the establishment of rest-houses at places which from time immemorial had been both commercial resting places and centres of primitive worship. Later, Buddhist caves were built in the very same areas, and thus the state received great support from the monks, the guilds and the merchants, for the caves became the centres of social and economic activity as well as places for worship. The Goddess Ekavira that today is worshipped at Karle caves predates the caves by some millenia.

International Trade

We cannot take for granted that the Deccan was at any time completely isolated from maritime connections with West and Central Asia, especially since the megalithic burials are neither of local origin nor specific to the Deccan or to India. Certain ash mounds show sporadic, transient intrusions of explorers with possible Iranian connections as far back as the beginning of the second millenium B.C.

Since we know from the Old Testament that King Solomon was trading with India via Tarshis in *c.* 1000 B.C., and since some words in Hebrew (monkey, peacock, sandalwood) have probable Dravidian associations, we can take for granted a continuous, if at times interrupted, maritime contact. Possibly facing the competition from the South Indians, Banchhayana, one of the earliest law givers, insists in the *Dharmasutra,* that travel by sea to other lands is only permissible to North Indians.

Detail of frieze, porch of vestibule, Durga Temple, Aihole

It is now generally accepted that it was not the Greek Hippalos who first discovered how to use the monsoon winds and currents to travel back and forth to India in mid-ocean. Probably, there was prior knowledge of this technique which was based on long experience of East-West sea travel.

In 1968, S. R. Rao explored the west coast from Goa to Udipi, identifying historical settlements mentioned in Greek and Buddhist texts. He found even neolithic pottery and stone implements at Honavar and Gokarna, thereby extending the neolithic zone to the west coast, across the Sahyadri. It is possible that Honavar is the Naoura of the *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea,* a tract describing the trade with the east and west coasts of India, written by an unknown author in the second century A.D. The excavations of Rao revealed the possibility that Udyavara near Udipi may have been a port in the early historical period.

We know from the hoards of Roman coins found in the south, from excavations at Arkimedu on the east coast, and from Satavahana coins with emblems of double masted ships and other sea symbols and also from certain stylistic affinities with Greco-Roman art in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda sculpture, that extensive trading was going on at the time of the economic imperialism of Augustus at the beginning of the Christian era and for two centuries thereafter. Great fleets of Iranian, Arab, Roman and Indian trading vessels linked West and Central Asia with India. Some of the goods arriving on Indian shores from the West would subsequently be transported to Southeast Asia and to China.

Ports dotted the western coast of India: Bharkachchha (Broach), Sopara, Kalyan, Goa, Chersonesus, identified with Karwar, and Mangalore are among those positively located.

Commodities were unloaded at the ports and transported inland by caravan via passes through the Western Ghats. These passes included the Tal Ghat to Sopara, Kanheri and Nasik; Malsej Ghat to Otur, near Junnar; Nana Ghat to Kalyan, Junnar, and Paithan; and Bhor Ghat to Bhaja, Bedsa and Karle, then on to Ter. From there the routes travelled were along the river highways.

By Satavahana times, a complex economy had developed out of the simple tribal life. The professions multiplied, reflecting the diverse economic growth. Many of the people practicing these trades were making products to be transported to inland and foreign markets. Most of these trades were organized into guilds, which exercised a great amount of influence, dictated social customs, and acted as banks in the loan of money for commercial investments; therefore, they had great political power.

Professions

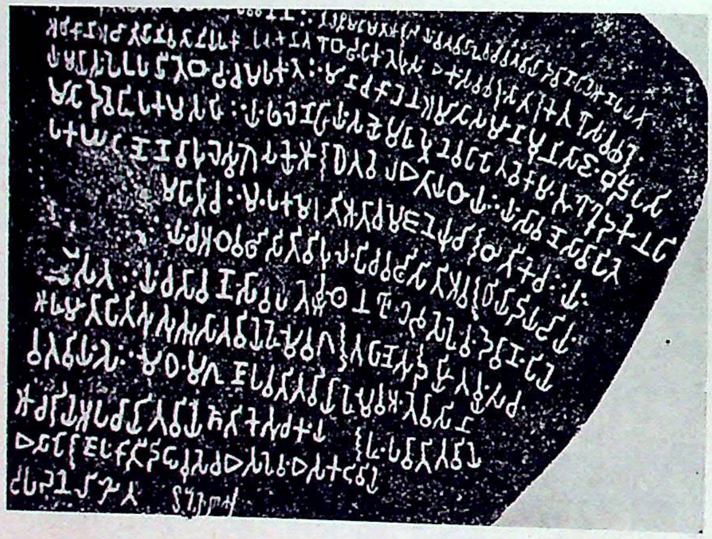
There were leather workers, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, basketmakers, weavers of cotton fabrics, tailors and embroiderers, sculptors in wood and ivory, goldsmiths, jewelers, perfumers, oil pressers, fishermen and of course, agricultural workers, then as now, the backbone of the economy.

Exports

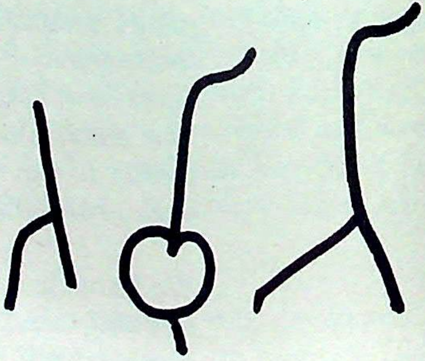
Products were manufactured with great skill and attention to excellence, and this created a great demand in the Roman world as well as in Southeast Asia and China, Raw materials exported from India included ivory, sandalwood and other exotic woods, precious stones, perfumes, spices, muslin, gold and all kinds of rare and useful animals.

Buddhism in the Deccan

Asokan edicts, written in a southern variation of the Brahmi script are found in the Raichur and Chitradurga districts of Karnataka and Bellary in Andhra Pradesh. They testify to the spread of Buddhism in this area in the third century B.C., as do the later remains of stupas found at places like Sannati (in the second and third centuries A.D.) and at Bhattiprolu, Kolhapur and Tagarangara. In fact, both Buddhism and Jainism took root in all the Deccan territory which the Mauryans had conquered.



Ashokan edict, Brahmagiri



Brahmanical Worship in the Deccan

These religions flourished and were supported by the rulers and merchants in the many centuries prior to the decline of Buddhism. At the same time, like Buddhism, the Brahmanical sects of Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Shaktism assumed a protestant attitude, as a reaction against the priestly monopoly of the Vedic religion. These faiths brought the worshipper into a more immediate and close relationship with his god by eliminating the need for the intervention of the priests.

Vishnu was an amalgamation of the god Narayana, the Krishna-Vasudeva cults and some totemic gods including the fish, the boar and the tortoise. Shiva's components include the totemic worship of the snake, the bull, the buffalo and many other indigenous forms including marriage with the originally separate Mother Goddess.

In the south this process of agglomeration was a reorganization and an extraordinary adaptation to the new conditions and ideas brought by the Aryans, and it seems to have proceeded on a voluntary and peaceful basis.

Iconographic and Literary Evidence

In the north we have iconographical evidence to show that Brahmanical deities were worshipped as early as the third century B.C., and we have a continuous body of literature to support this evidence as well. On the other hand, our knowledge of the forms of the southern icons is limited to what we can gather from the literature, primarily the poetry of the Sangam era in Tamil. Scholars are not in agreement as to the dates of these poems, but they are known not to be later than the fifth century, and probably they belong to the centuries just preceding and following the beginning of the Christian era.

Instructions in Tamil Agamas concerning the making of idols dictate that idols should be made in the materials from which the temple is built, but remains of the brick, timber and clay temples have disappeared along with their icons, which may have been made of wood or plaster, or perhaps they were painted on to the back of the shrine wall.

In the deep south, long before the first century, Brahmanical deities had already been thoroughly amalgamated with or grafted upon the local popular gods. These deities had protected the primitive people who looked towards them to order the relentless chaotic natural forces which confronted them in their daily lives.

In Tamilaham, Tirumal had become Vishnu, and the *avatars*, Varaha, Trivikrama, Narashimha Rama and Krishna were already defined and rooted. Also the three-eyed god Shiva was worshipped as Tripurantaka, with matted locks imprisioning Ganga, with crescent moon, riding on a white bull and sharing his body with Uma as Ardhanarishvara; he was also known as Yogi Dakshinamurti. In addition Muruga is fused with Kartikeya; Venda is Indra, Varuna is known and Korravai as Durga is already the fighting female who wields the trident and vanquishes the buffalo.

A unique example of an extant brick temple of Dravidian style, at Ter

A non-sectarian devotion was accorded these deities, and factionalism had not yet developed.

Brahmanical Worship in the Deep South

These ideas travelled along the inland waterway routes as well as by ships back and forth from the east and the west coast and from north to south. For centuries before the Chalukyan advent, there was as much involvement with Hinduism in the southern Deccan as in the Tamil kingdoms. How else explain the mature depictions on the Chalukyan shrines? The tradition had centuries of preparation for its flowering here, even though we unfortunately have little archaeological evidence at this point to prove this, except for a few random finds like a sacrificial vessel of the first century, some sacrificial pillars and some bricks indicating use of altars. (See Dr. Settar's article.)

Brahmanical Worship in the North and the Deccan

A silver coin of third century B.C., found in Karnataka, has Skanda on it. In the north, the depiction of Shiva on Kushan coins and stone figures of many Brahmanical deities are in the Mathura and Lucknow Museums. A good number were made in Mathura: Vishnu, Garuda, Surya, Chandra, Shiva, Kartikeya, Kubera, Lakshmi, Sarasvati, Durga, Mahishasuramardini, Ardhanarishvara and Sapta Matrikas head the list, and there are others.

The Nana Ghat inscription of Nagauka Dharma, Satavahana queen, names Vasudeva, Indra, Sankarshana, Chandra and Surya, the four dikpalas—Yama, Varuna, Kubera, and Vasava—and Krishna as deities worshipped by these rulers. Individuals in these days also adopted the names of Hindu gods. Donations to temples are also frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the Cutus, the Gangas, the Iksvakus, the Kadambas, all of whom adopted the Brahmanical faith.

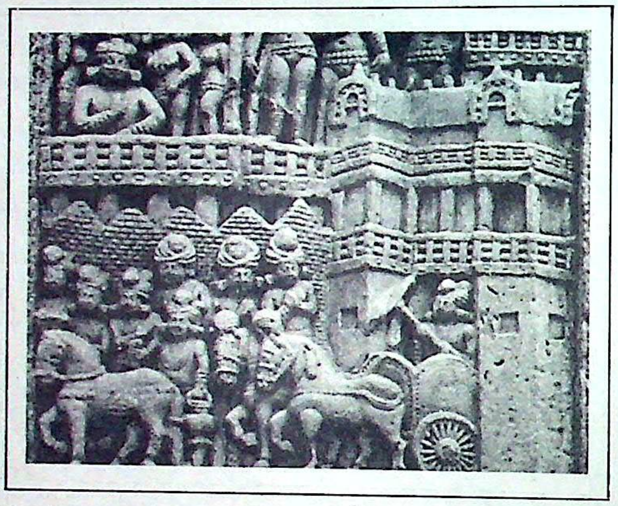
Although for studying comparisons, we can only use icons from the north, we do so with great regrets for the lost evidence from the Tamil areas. It must nevertheless be kept in mind that sources for Chalukya sculpture came from both north and south.

—CARMEL BERKSON

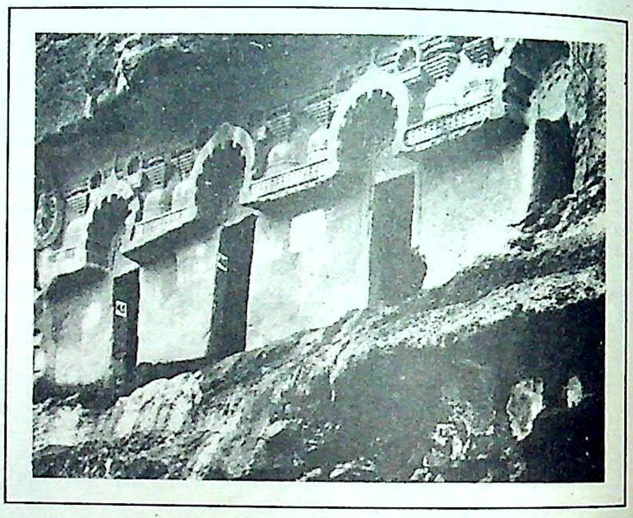
Parallelism and Development of Forms in Early Indian Art

During the millenium which preceded the construction of the earliest stupas, chaityas and viharas, architects and wood- and ivory-carvers had already laid the groundwork in the design and construction of many architectural elements: column, pilaster, etc., as well as the decoration of these surfaces. By scrutinizing the Sanchi and Bharhut reliefs, we are able to grasp the complexity of the iconography and form life which by these times had been in use for a very long period. We also see examples here of the contemporary architecture which so greatly influenced the future.

Chaityas and viharas, first constructed in imitation of brick and timber buildings and temples, continued to be built for over a thousand years after the initial attempts in the time of Ashoka. These magnificent shrines were cut directly into the mountain side.



Architectural elements shown in the relief from Sanchi



Viharas: dwellings of monks at Junnar

In the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills near Gaya, these excavations, the most important of which are the Sudama and Lomas Rishi caves, consist of a simple circular cell or shrine with porch for worshippers (combined, these two forms result in an apsidal structure). At Gaya, the rock was hard granite or gneiss, and perhaps because of the difficulties in working this material, in the following centuries focus was shifted to Saurashtra and to the Deccan, with some cave building in Orissa. Here the softer stone of the trap formations encouraged complicated innovations.

Between *c.* 200 B.C. and A.D. 200, starting in Saurashtra and moving south, caves of Buddhist inspiration were excavated at Kondivate, Nadsur, Bhaja, Kondane, Kanheri, Pithalkhora, Junnar, Ajanta, Nasik, Bedsa, Karle and in Orissa at Khandagiri, Udayagiri, and in Andhra Pradesh at Guntapalle and Sankaram.

After a brief hiatus, corresponding to the decline of the Satavahanas and the transition from Hinayana to Mahayana Buddhism, a second phase of excavations was carried out at Nasik, Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad, and Elephanta. Complexities and variations enhanced the structures.

In the building of the chaityas, at first the end of the chamber was made square, but soon an apse, repeating the shape of the dagoba, the stone object of worship, providing a circumambulatory passage, was created. Later, columns were added to the hall to provide naves and aisles. The door, first placed on one side, was later arranged along the axis of the shrine, and the flat roof soon became vaulted.

In tracing the development of the spatial definition of the chaitya we have many examples. We learn much about the architectural shapes of secular buildings from studying carved examples on the Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati bas reliefs. The barrel vault shape of most of the roofs seen here was transferred to the chaityas, though of course our view in the rock-cut chaitya is only of the interior, while in the bas reliefs we are seeing the exterior.

Also there are structural examples still extant, either a foundation or entirely preserved. As early as the third century B.C., an elliptically shaped temple, probably devoted to brahmanical worship, was in use at Besnagar near the Heliodorus pillar devoted to Vishnu. The Jivakamarava shrine in Rajgir, Bihar, has elliptical halls. Further examples appear at Taxila, Sonkh, Udayagiri and Guntapalle; then later at Nagarjunakonda, Cezerla, Ter and Banavasi. (See Dr. Settar's article.)

As for the viharas, which were the habitation places for monks, they were far more important in the development of Chalukyan architecture, for all the caves at Badami and Aihole have the viharas as their models. In the early second century B.C. viharas had no columns, being simple rectangular spaces carved into the rock. They were copies of structural viharas that had pre-dated them. After a while, with the enlargement of the inner spaces, columns were provided and cells surrounding the assembly halls were excavated out of the walls.

In the second phase of the building of the viharas, the place of worship, which originally had been separated in an outside structure, was now combined with the living quarters, and it took its place as the shrine built into the rear wall. What used to be functional cells for the monks to live in the early viharas, in the later Hindu shrines began to change their form and position, achieving the new function of sculptured shrines. This development deserves special and exhaustive study.

By the time the Badami and Aihole caves were cut. the craftsmen were masters of an eight hundred year old tradition. In some aspects, extraordinary continuity is maintained. In regard, for example, to the preservation of the ubiquitous shape of the dormer window in the chaityas, which represented the horseshoe-shaped lateral end of the barrel-vaulted roof of the original thatch hut, at Junagadh, the window was first devised in stone, and in the next centuries, the workmanship on these windows was refined and developed, as the wood screen was replaced by stone.

Chaitya-shaped window decoration

At the Chalukyan sites, as on other earlier stone temples, the very same shape becomes totally detached from its original function as window, and it can be seen in greatly minimized proportions, modified in size and shape, flattened down, decorating the outer and inner parts of the temple.

The original thatch barrel roof model has a strong hold on southern temple architecture in another way. It is used consistently and compulsively as one of the fundamental units of the horizontally tiered vimana. The *nida* or *panjara* is a replica of a miniature apsidal shrine.

Buddhists also constructed stupas at Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Sarnath and at other less known sites like Sannati in Mysore. Thus the Chalukyans are heirs to a long tradition in which the sculptors in stone learned to integrate their art with that of architecture. The stupa experience, along with that of the viharas and chaityas, was accompanied by the building of sacred and structural temples, at first in brick and mortar and timber, and then, around the fifth century in the north, in stone.

We can study this development from the foundations which date back to the third century B.C. (See Dr. Settar's article).

We have examples of stone temples in the north in the shrines at Tigawa, Sanchi, Udayagiri and Eran and a little later at Bhumara and Nachna-Khutara. In these Hindu temples we can study the developing iconography and complex flowering growth of plastic expression of the carvings of the stupas and caves. Many artists produced identical forms for all these shrines, regardless of the religious preference of their patrons. We can see a process of integration of the accumulated experience in all the multifarious details.

In the south, the first stone temples outside of the Chalukyan territory appear in the seventh century at Mahabalipuram, although the Sangam literature is replete with references to temple worship in earlier centuries. We have to assume that the first stone examples at Badami and Mahakut and the first at Mahabalipuram have these as models, in addition to the northern ones. It is also tantalizing to speculate about the idea of western influence. At least one temple of Augustus on the west coast, where considerable numbers of Yavanas lived, is mentioned in the Sangam literature.

In the meantime, schools of sculpture had grown up in Mathura, Sanchi and Gandhara, and they in turn spread their influences to less prominent but equally active centres. Thus the brilliant stream of artists at these centres contributed their genius to the mainstream that was to lead to the Chalukyan experience. These schools reflected their own traditions based on indigenous trends and on the foreign influences which were the result of continual conquests by people from the West.

At the Chalukyan sites, we see this vast experience everywhere, wherever the sculptor has directed his attention — on doorways, on columns, ceilings, walls, basement, in the iconography of the figures, in their composition. To take only one solitary example, at Nagarjunakonda we have a carving of Buddha protected by Naga King Muchalinda. He is seated in a rigid position on nagas who form a coil pillow, and he is protected by a cobra canopy. This very same stance is literally transferred to the Badami Cave III panel of Vishnu Bhogasanamurti, though of course it is now different in size and style.

Portfolio

The study of these transitions is the substance of the understanding of Indian art traditions. The Chalukyan sites are a school for this study. Naturally, the problems of composition, iconography, style development and the religious significance of these expressions cannot be attempted here, but the portfolio is offered as a primer to begin the search. Continuities and the flow of form from one geographical place to another and from one chronological period to the next may be observed, guiding us towards the task of discovering the connections.

What emerges, time and again from such studies, is that with astounding persistence, certain themes never die, be they carved for Buddhists, Jains or Hindus. The symbol is passed from one generation to the next, and it gets reinterpreted in the medium or mode of the particular culture using it. This is true for the grand themes of gods and goddesses as well as for the decorative details and minor symbols. There are garland bearers at Bharhut, Sanchi, Gandhara, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and the Chalukyan sites, and they are also found later at Ellora in the Rashtrakuta Cave 16, to site but a meagre example. The same is true for the *makaras, vidyadharas, ganas, purnaghatas* and myriads of other minor and major symbols.

The profusion of the varying inter-relationships and combinations of these forms is infinite. Elements are rearranged and recombined and are thus reintegrated continually to provide ever-fresh and new forms of art, That is the miracle.

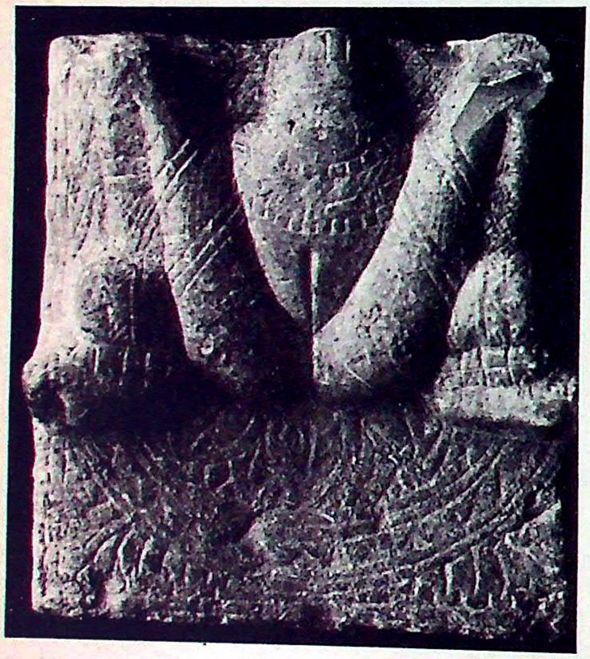
Having understood the influence of the past, we must also turn our attention to the problems faced by the sculptors in this particular area.

(Continued on page 53)

Portfolio

At different times, and also concurrently, the Chalukyas worshipped a complete pantheon of Hindu gods which included many aspects of Vishnu, Shiva and also of the Goddess. A long historical development in the north and south had preceded the abundant expression of form found at these sites:

Lajja Gauri:	*Some earlier examples (Fig. 1) succinctly formulate the idea of reproduction and fertility by depicting only the generative part of the body, while later (Fig. 2), the nourishing breasts are included, and the lotus replaces the human head—nature obliterates and supersedes the rational.*
Sapta Matrikas:	*In inscriptions, the Chalukyas often pay homage to the seven mothers. Variable in number, they have ambiguous symbolism which includes the nourishing and protective aspects as well as the terrible. They do battle for the male gods against the asuras and they represent the evil qualities of desire, anger, covetousness, pride, illusion, tale-bearing and envy.*
Durga Mahishasuramardini:	*In early images, the Goddess pierces the buffalo in animal form. Later, the triumphant Goddess rides her vahana, the lion, and the demon stands upright with human body and buffalo head. The various ways of depicting this legend reflect varying interpretations of the myth.*
Kartikeya:	*Worshipped as War God as early as the time of the Sutra literature (600 B.C.—200 B.C.), Kartikeya is young and beautiful, courageous and valiant. The peacock, ubiquitous symbol of pride, virility and aesthetic perfection, merged with this deity as an apt* vahana.
Standing Ganesha:	*By Chalukyan times the worship of the elephant-headed son of Shiva, who controls obstacles, had already been deeply rooted in the Indian psyche.*
Vrishabhavahana Shiva:	*Shiva with his vehicle, the bull.* *One way of depicting this theme is by placing the bull behind the figure. This is first seen in Mathura. Figs. 16, 17 and 18 illustrate how a successful and symbolically significant composition is passed down through the centuries as each school of artisans develops variations.*
Varaha:	*Artists working for patrons of different religious inspiration, nevertheless at times relied upon the same stock of successful compositional arrangements. In Fig 19 the Buddhist king denounces the naga of Brahamanism, while in the following examples, the same action is seen as the Boar avatar destroying the demon Hiranyaksa.*
Narasimha:	*In an early form, Narasimha, the man-lion avatar of Vishnu, is depicted standing, with a human body and a lion's head; perhaps this is the final plastic expression of the fusion of totemic worship with an anthropomorphically conceived Vishnu.*
Apsidal Temples and Chaityas:	*Extraordinary transmutation of form occurred as the rock-cut chaityas grew out of monuments related to the simple thatch, brick and mud edifices. The chaityas in turn influenced the developing form of the apsidal temples, whose roofs resembled the hind quarters of an elephant. This interplay of architectural inventiveness continued for a thousand years, culminating in the majestic splendour of the Durga Temple at Aihole.*
Purnaghata and Lotus:	*Life develops from within the womb cavity of the earthen vase, where seed and water combine, germinate and subsequently produce profuse vegetation.*
Garland Bearers:	*Bringing the fruits of the harvest in thanksgiving and supplication, worshippers are heavy-laden with garland offerings.*
Columns:	*Architects delighted in inventing variations in the modes of column construction and decoration. During the period from the fifth to ninth century, craftsmanship reached its peak. No two columns are alike, many are elaborately and profusely rich in form and intricate design. Possibly the workmen moved from region to region executing their particular skill.*
Makaras:	*Aquatic animals, simply and exquisitely portrayed at an early stage (Figs. 47 and 49), later become assimilated with vegetative forms and are included in the architect's standard form repertoire as the basic design element of many toranas, in friezes and other places on the temple.*
Ganas:	*The sculptural representations of Ganas, followers of Shiva, midget, dwarf-like creatures, dance and besport, play musical instruments, fight and wrestle. Ganas serve the gods as jesters, and parade around the nether worlds causing fright and mischief.*
Vidyadharas:	*Acting as magnet, the object of worship, the deity, centered at the core of the composition, emanating power, attracts the creatures who inhabit the lower celestial spheres. They reflect a universal and obsessive urge toward worship.*



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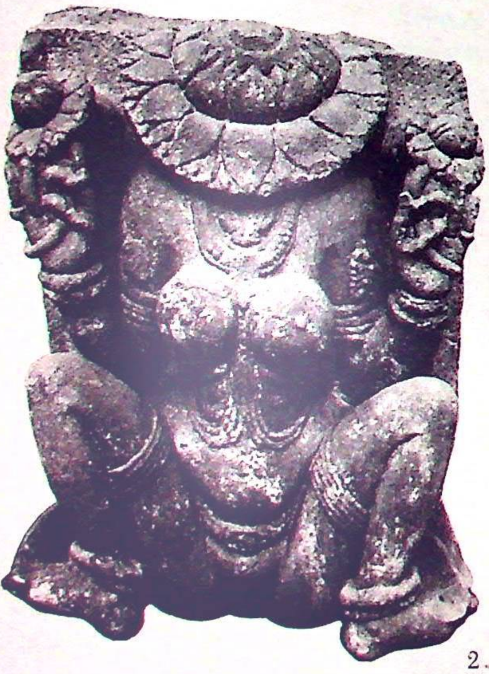

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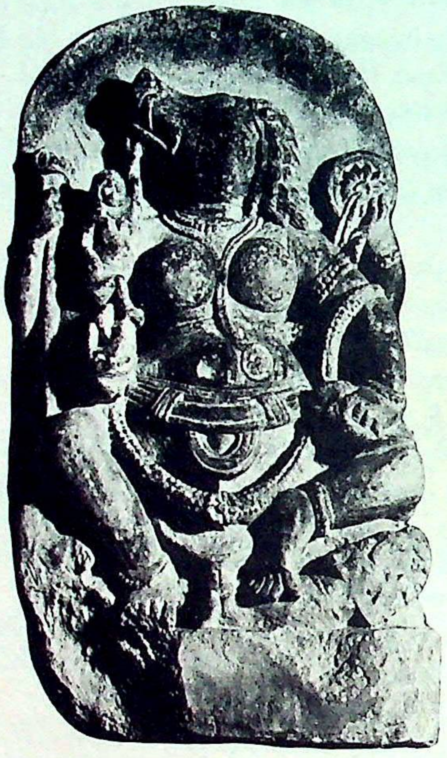

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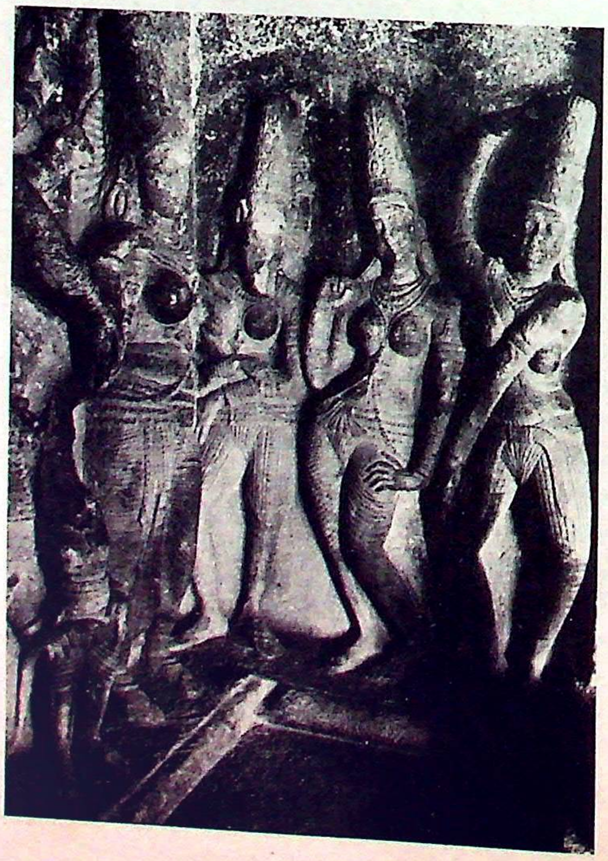

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Lajja-Gauri

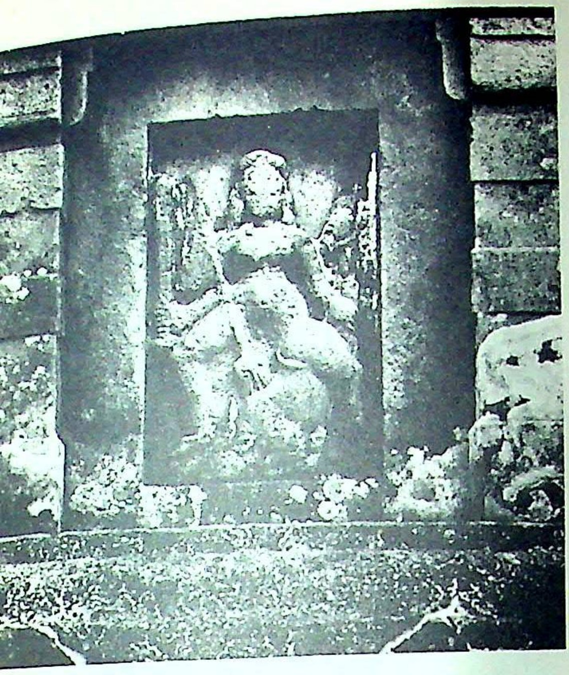
1. *Ter, Maharashtra, 2nd*
   tury A.D. Collection: B.
   Lamture
2. *Nagral, Karnataka, c. 7th*
   tury; now in Badami Muse

Sapta Matrika

3. *Sapta Matrika Cave, Path*
   Madhya Pradesh, 5th
   tury A.D.
4. *Varahi, from Samalaji, G*
   rat, 6th century A.D.; now
   Baroda Museum
5. *Dancing Matrikas, Rav*
   Phadi Cave, Aihole, Kar
   taka, 6th or 7th century A

Durga Mahishasuramardini

6. *Sculpture in shrine nic*
   Ramgarth Hill, Madhya P
   desh, 6th (?) century A.D.
7. *Cave I, west shrine, Bada*
   6th century A.D.
8. *Sculptured panel, Du*
   Cave, Mahabalipuram, Ta
   Nadu, 7th century A.D.
9. *Carving, capital of colum*
   Mallikarjuna Temple, Pa
   dakal, Karnataka, 8th cent
   A.D.
10. *Wall panel, Kailasana*
    Temple (Cave 16), Ello
    Maharashtra, 8th cent
    A.D.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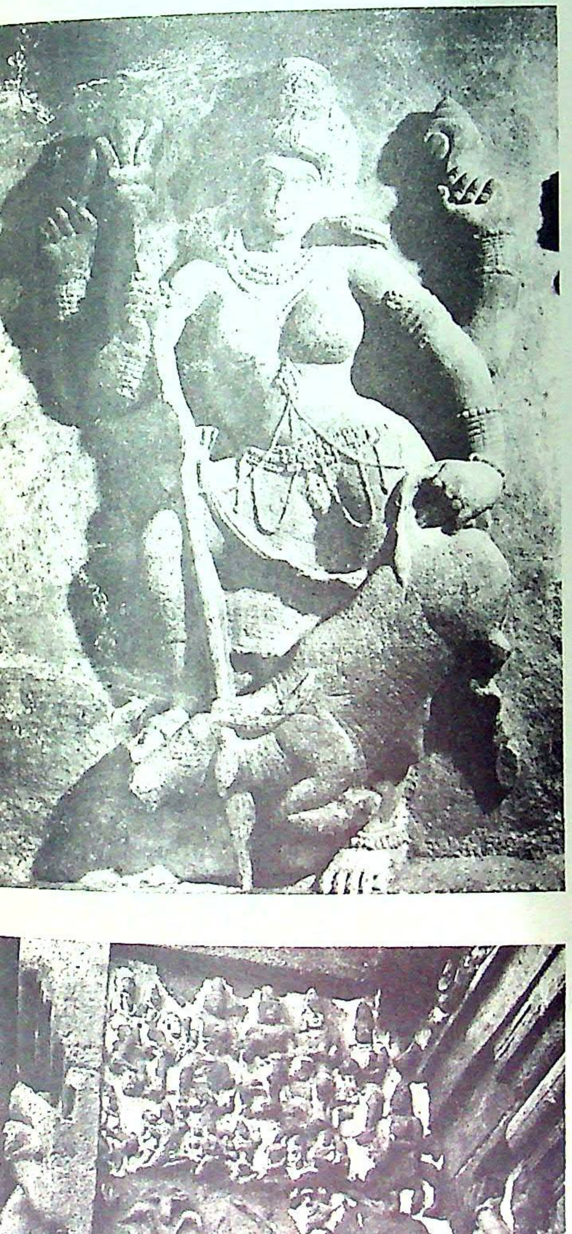
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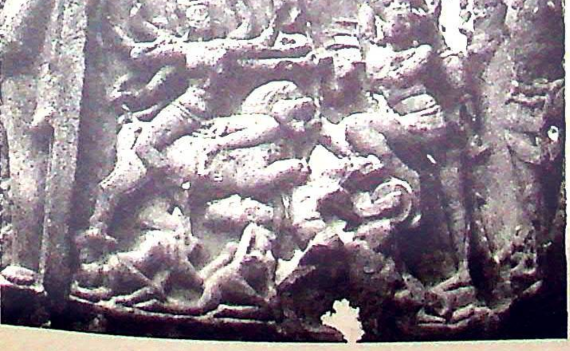
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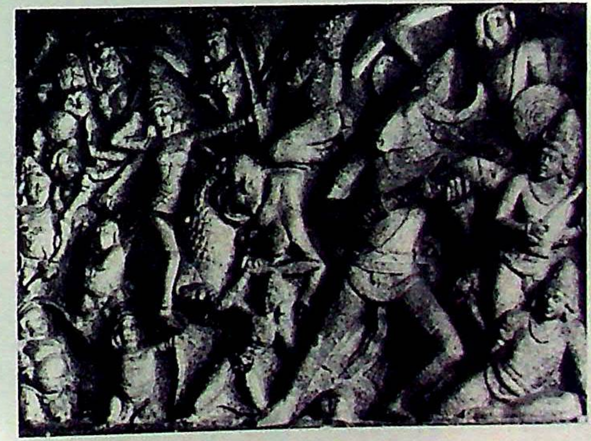
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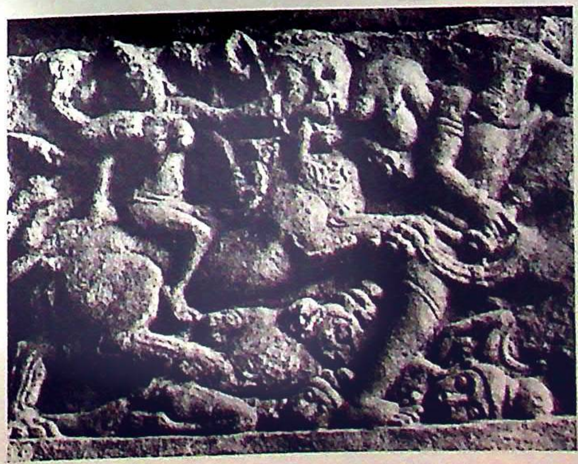
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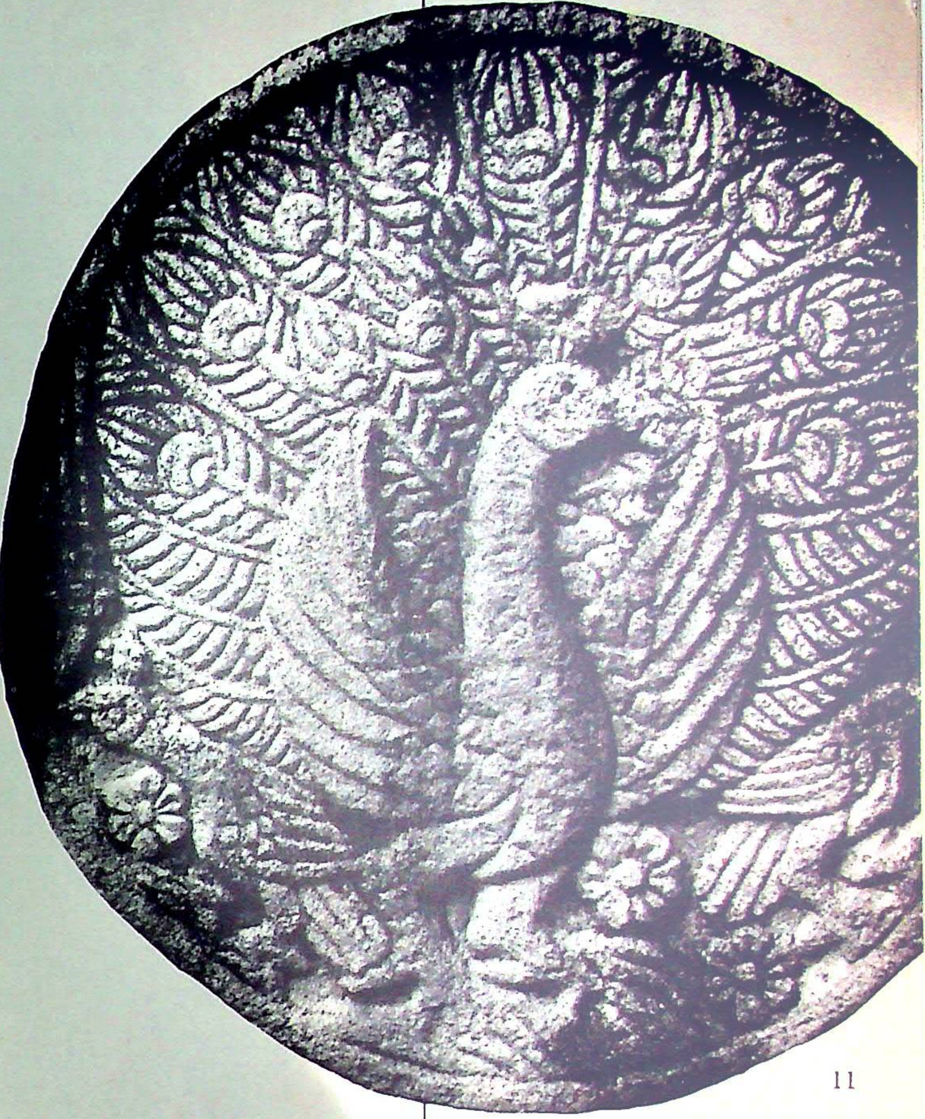
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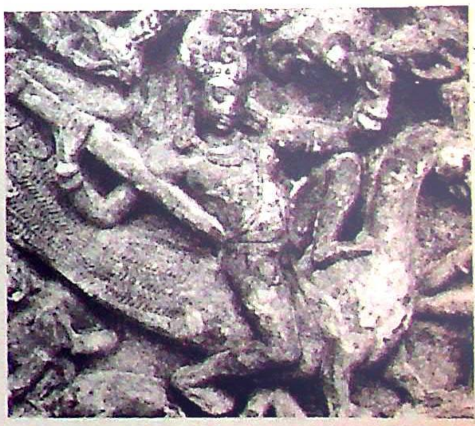
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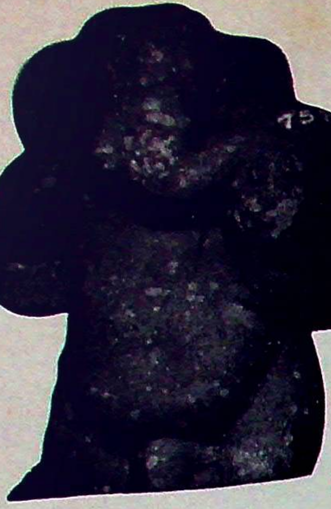
Kartikeya

11. *A peacock, Sanchi Stupa, Madhya Pradesh, 2nd century B.C.*
12. *Ceiling panel, porch of Huchchimalligudi Temple, Aihole, Karnataka, 7th century A.D.*



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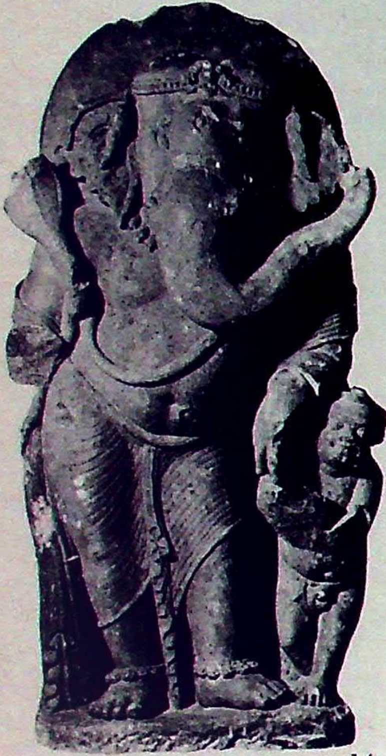

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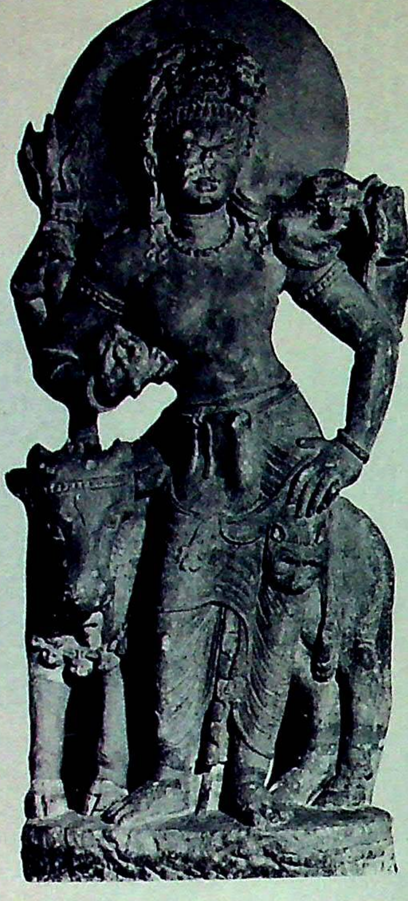

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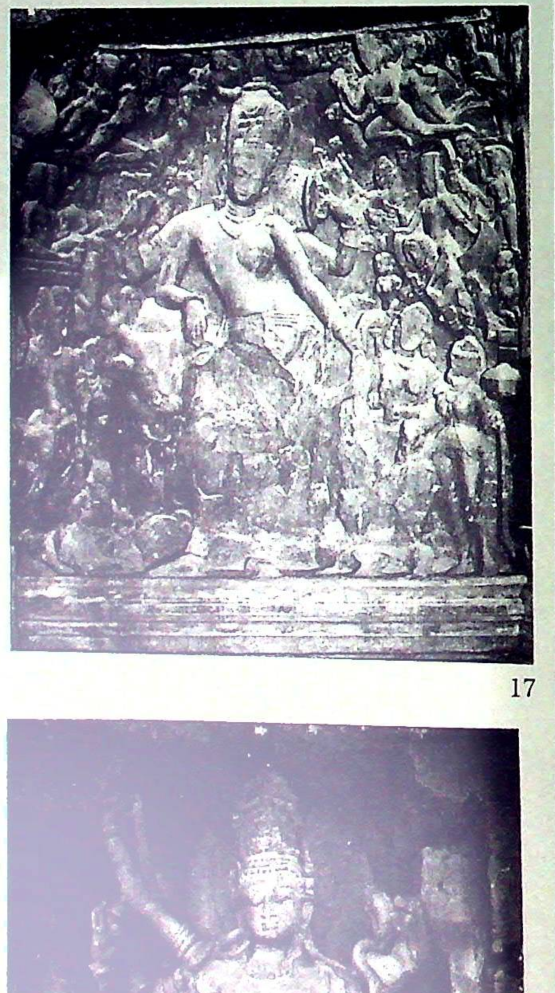

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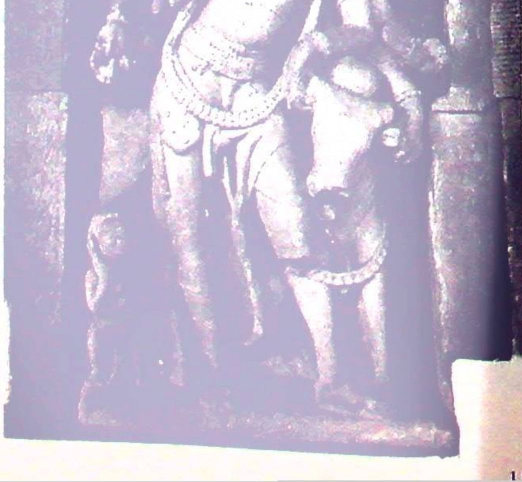

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Standing Ganesha

13. *As a corpulent nude dwarf, about 4th century A.D., now in Mathura Museum, Uttar Pradesh*
14. *From Samalaji, Gujerat, 6th century A.D., now in Baroda Museum*
15. *Ravana Phadi Cave, Aihole, Karnataka, 6th or 7th century A.D.*

Vrishabhavahana Siva

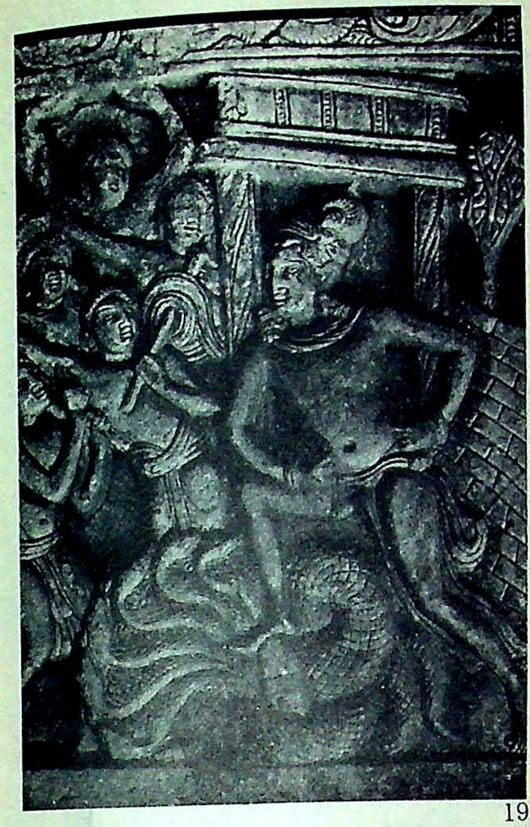
16. *From Samalaji, Gujerat, 6th century A.D., now in Baroda Museum*
17. *Ardhanarisvara, Elephanta, Maharashtra, c. 6th century A.D.*
18. *Sculpture in niche of Durga temple, Aihole, Karnataka, c. 7th century A.D.*

Varaha

19. *Prince stamping on the naga demon, Nagarjunakonda, 4th century A.D.*
20. *Badoh, Madhya Pradesh, 4th or 5th century A.D.*
21. *Cave 6, Udayagiri, Madhya Pradesh, A.D. 400*
22. *Badami, Cave III, 6th century A.D.*

Narasimha

23. *Besnagar, about 2nd century A.D.; now in the Gwalior Museum*
24. *Udayagiri, Madhya Pradesh, 5th century A.D.*
25. *Badami, Cave III, 6th century A.D.*



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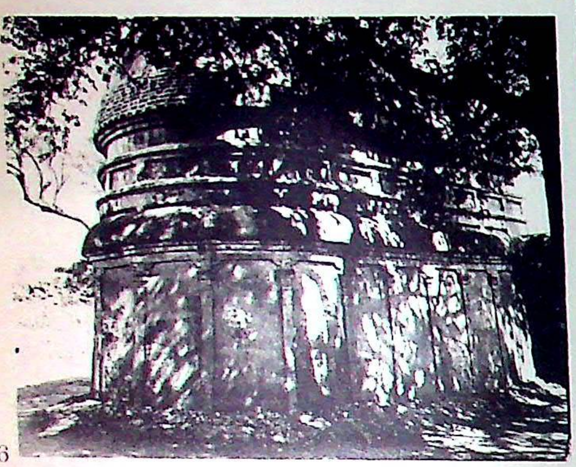
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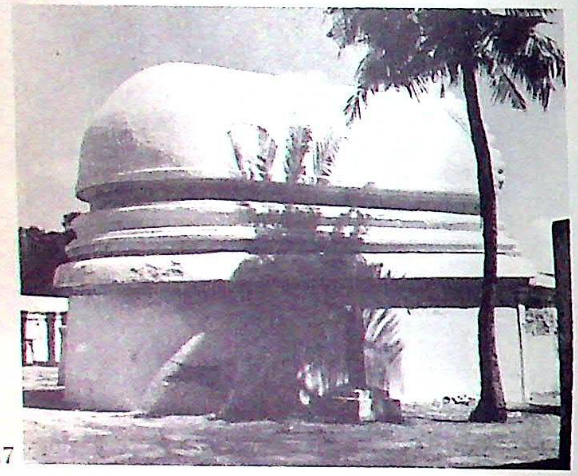
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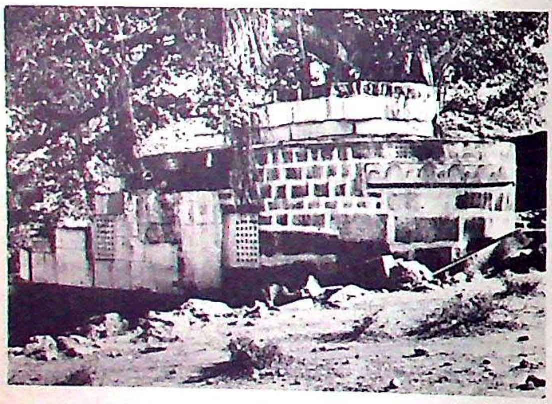
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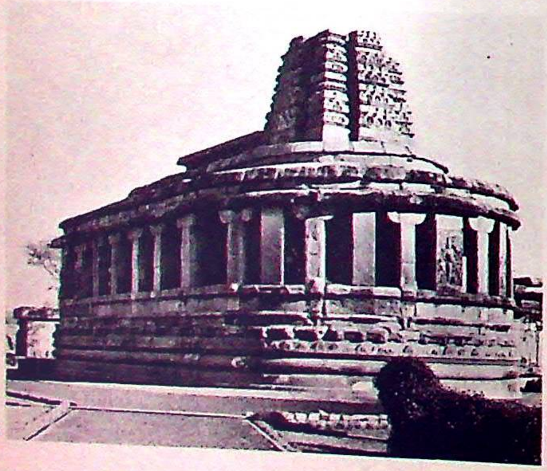
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Apsidal Temples

26. *Trivikrama temple, Ter, Maharashtra, c. 4th century A.D.*
27. *Cezerla, Andhra Pradesh*
28. *Chikka Mahakuta, Mahakuta c. 5th century A.D.*
29. *Durga temple, Aihole, Karnataka, c. 7th century A.D.*

Chaityas

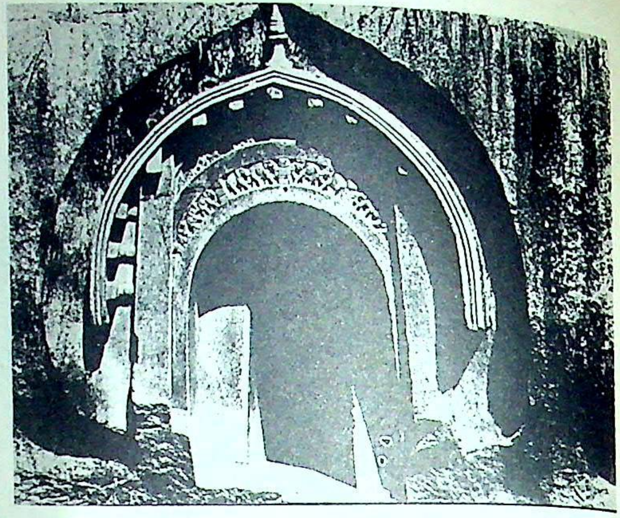
30. *Lomas Rishi Cave, Barabar Hills, Bihar, 3rd century B.C.*
31. *Bhaja Caves, Maharashtra, 2nd century B.C.*
32. *Sculpture in a chaitya window, Gupta temple, Deogarh*
33. *Detail on Upper Shivalaya temple, Badami, 6th century A.D.*
34. *Visvakarma Cave, Ellora, Maharashtra, 7th century A.D.*

Purnaghata and Lotus

35, 36. *Medallions from the vedika of Bharhut Stupa, 2nd century B.C.; now in Calcutta Museum*
37. *Detail of carving on the gate of the Great Stupa at Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, 2nd century B.C.*
38. *Medallion from Stupa (?) found at Ter, Maharashtra; Collection: B. R. Lamture*
39. *Ceiling panel, Badami, Cave I, 6th century A.D.*

Garland Bearers

40. *Torana of Great Stupa, Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, 2nd century B.C.*
41. *Frieze slab showing festoon ornament, Nagarjunakonda, Andhra Pradesh, 2nd-3rd century A.D.*
42. *Detail on inner wall of main hall, Papanatha temple, Pattadakal, 7th or 8th century A.D.*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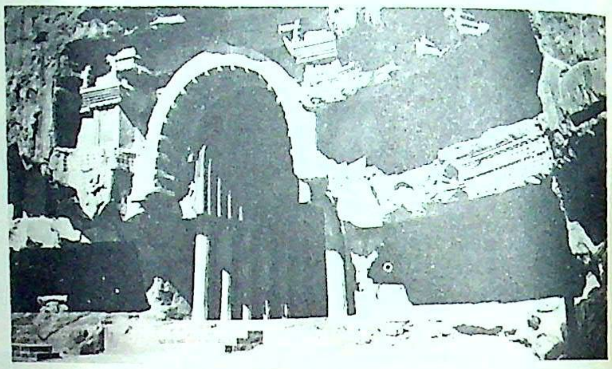
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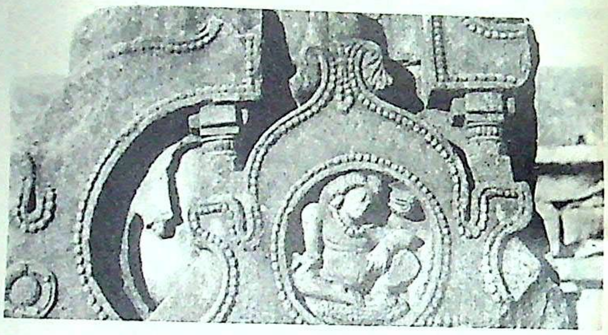
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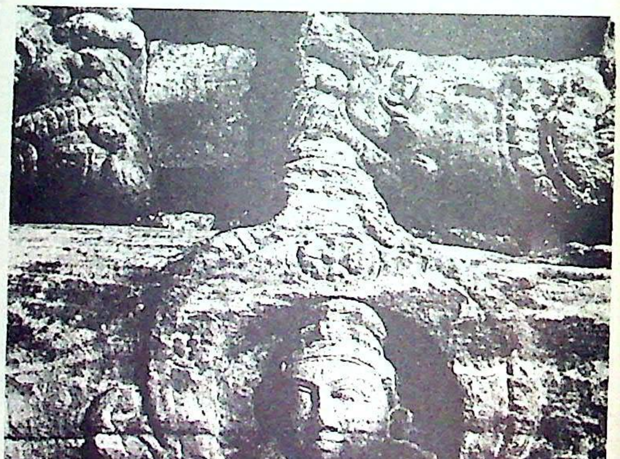
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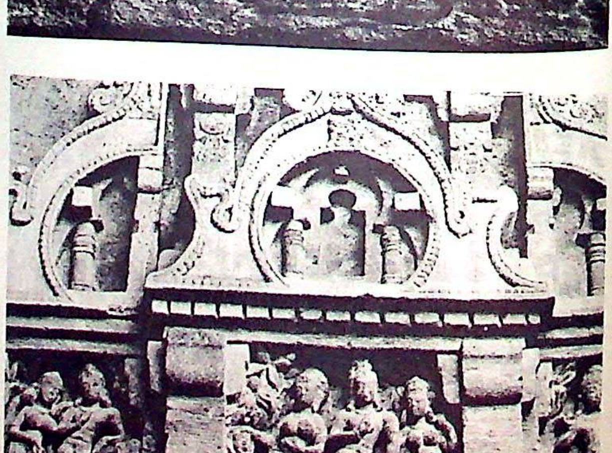
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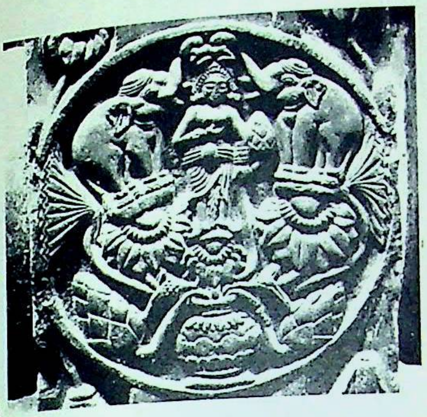
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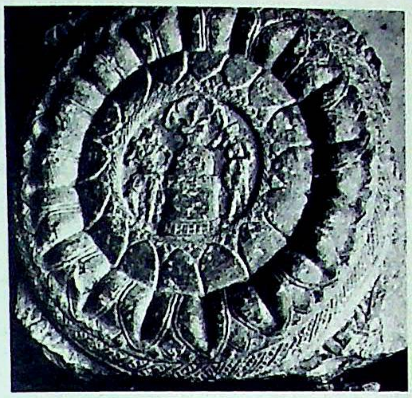
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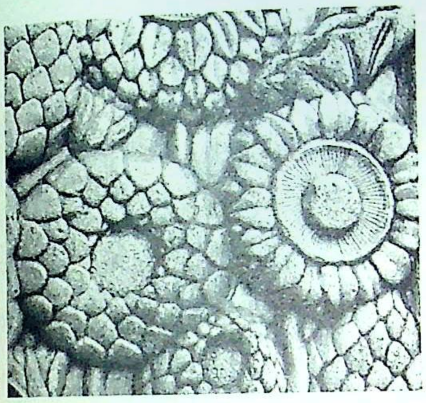
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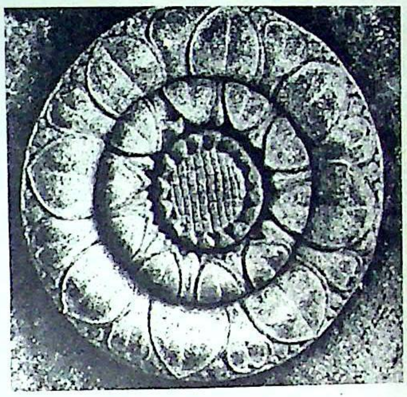
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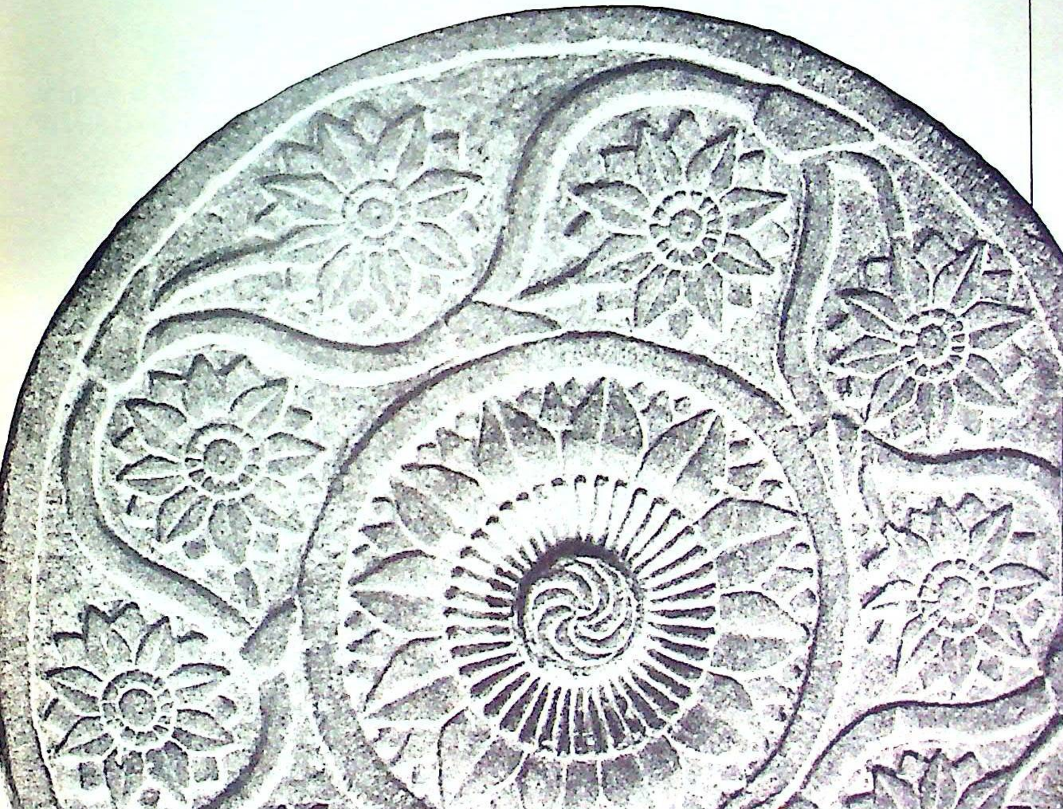
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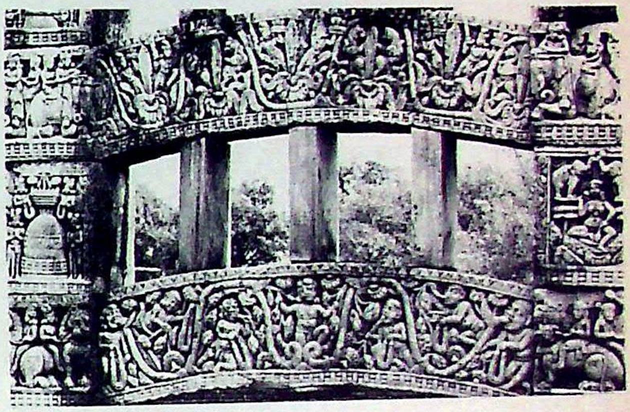
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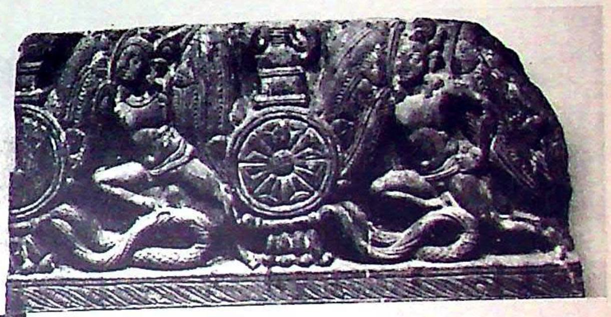
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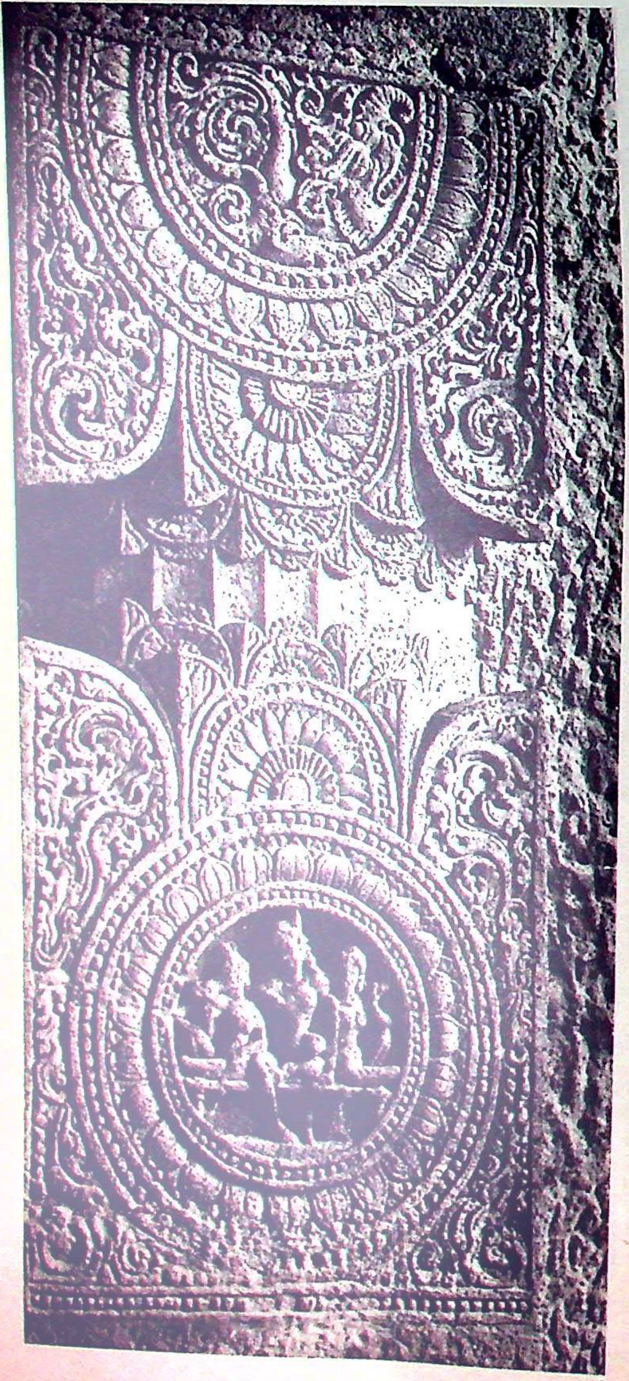

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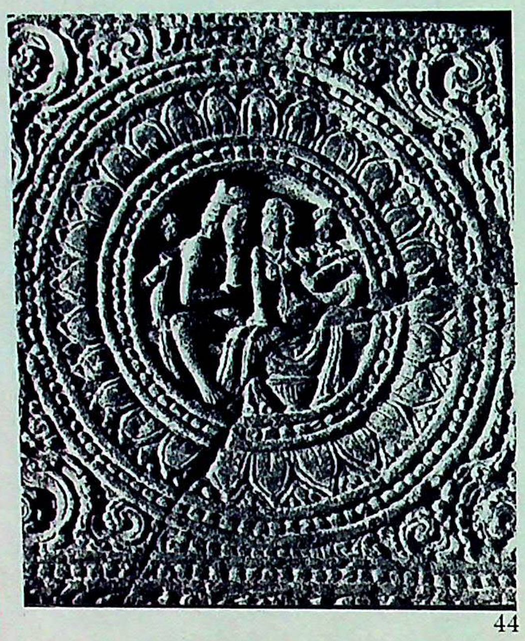

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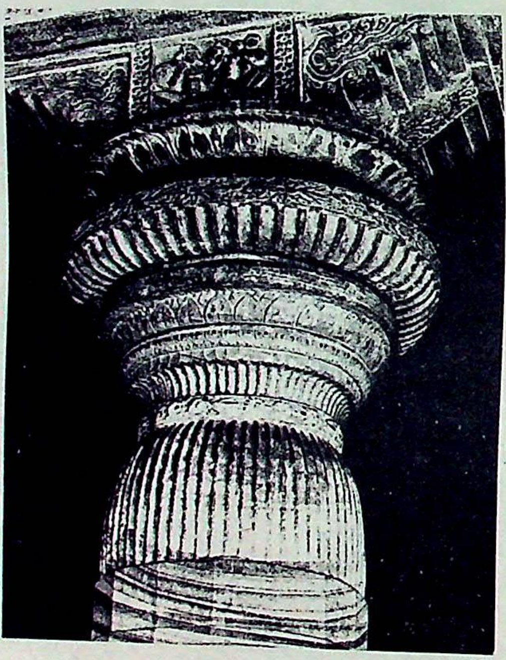

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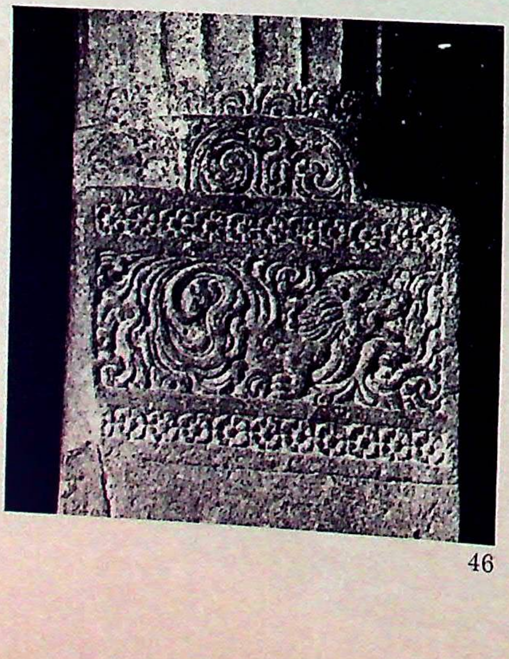

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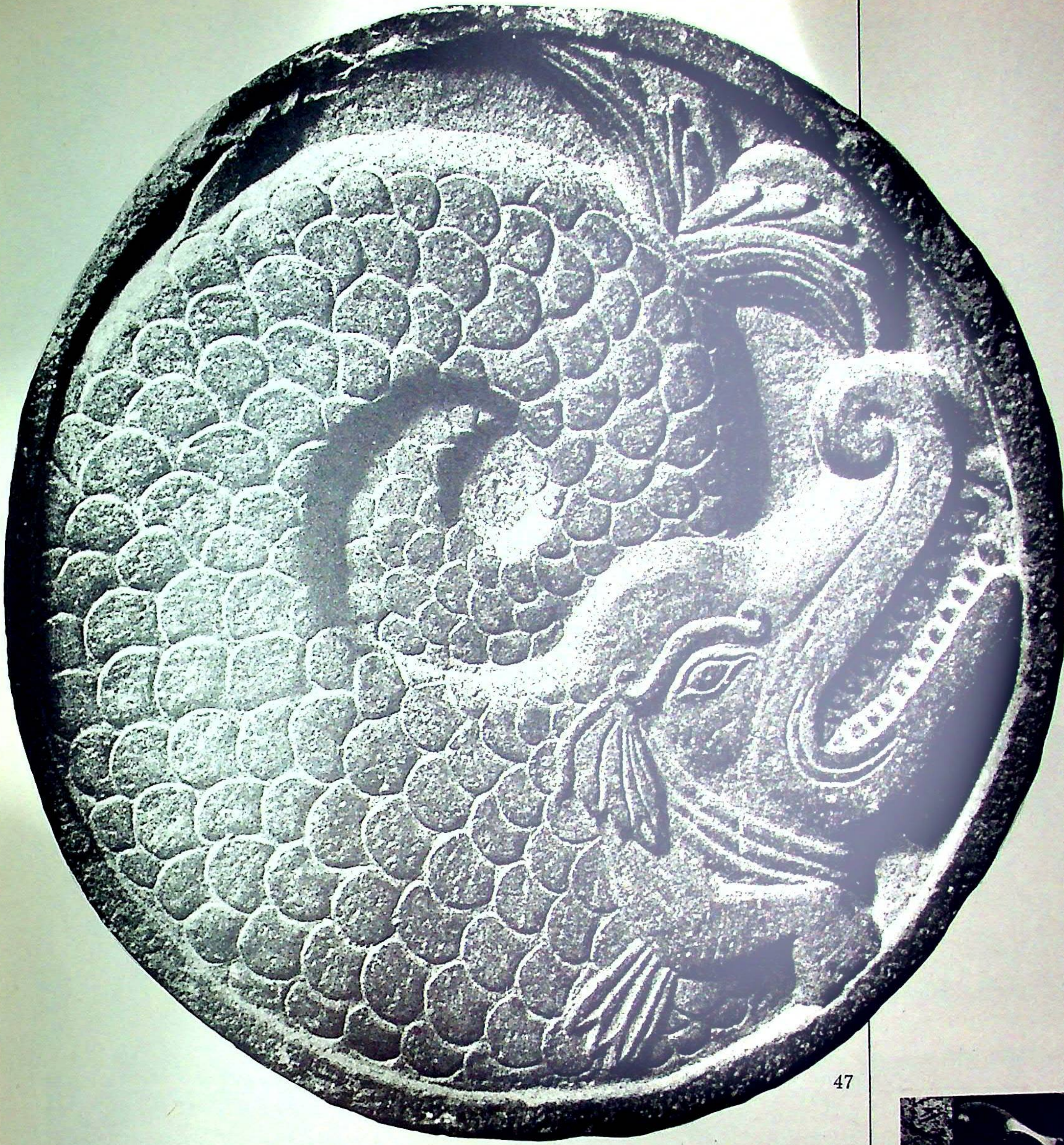
The Ornamentation on the columns:

43. *Cave 27, Ajanta, 5th century*
44. *Cave 3, Aurangabad, Maharashtra, 5th century A.D*
45. *Cave 3, Badami, 6th century A.D.*
46. *Ramesvara, Cave 21, Ellora, 6th century A.D.*

Makara

47. *Bharhut, 2nd century A.D.; now in Calcutta Museum*
48. *Variations on the theme, Painting on ceiling, Ajanta, Cave I*
49. *Terracotta plaque, Temple at Bhitargaon, Uttar Pradesh., 5th century A.D.*
50. *Lintel stone, Mukandara Bhimchauri Temple, Dra Village, Kota Dist., Rajasthan; now in the Kota Museum*
51. *Frieze detail, Makutesvara temple, Mahakuta, 6th or 7th century A.D.*



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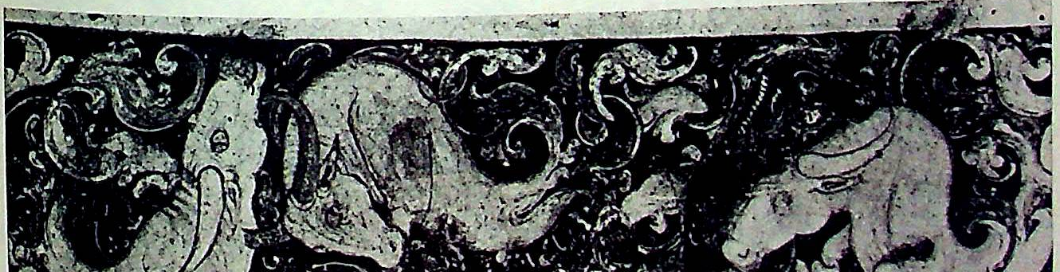

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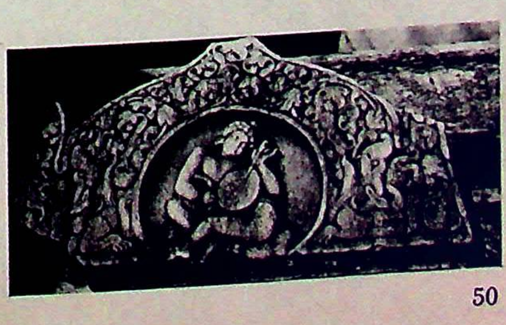

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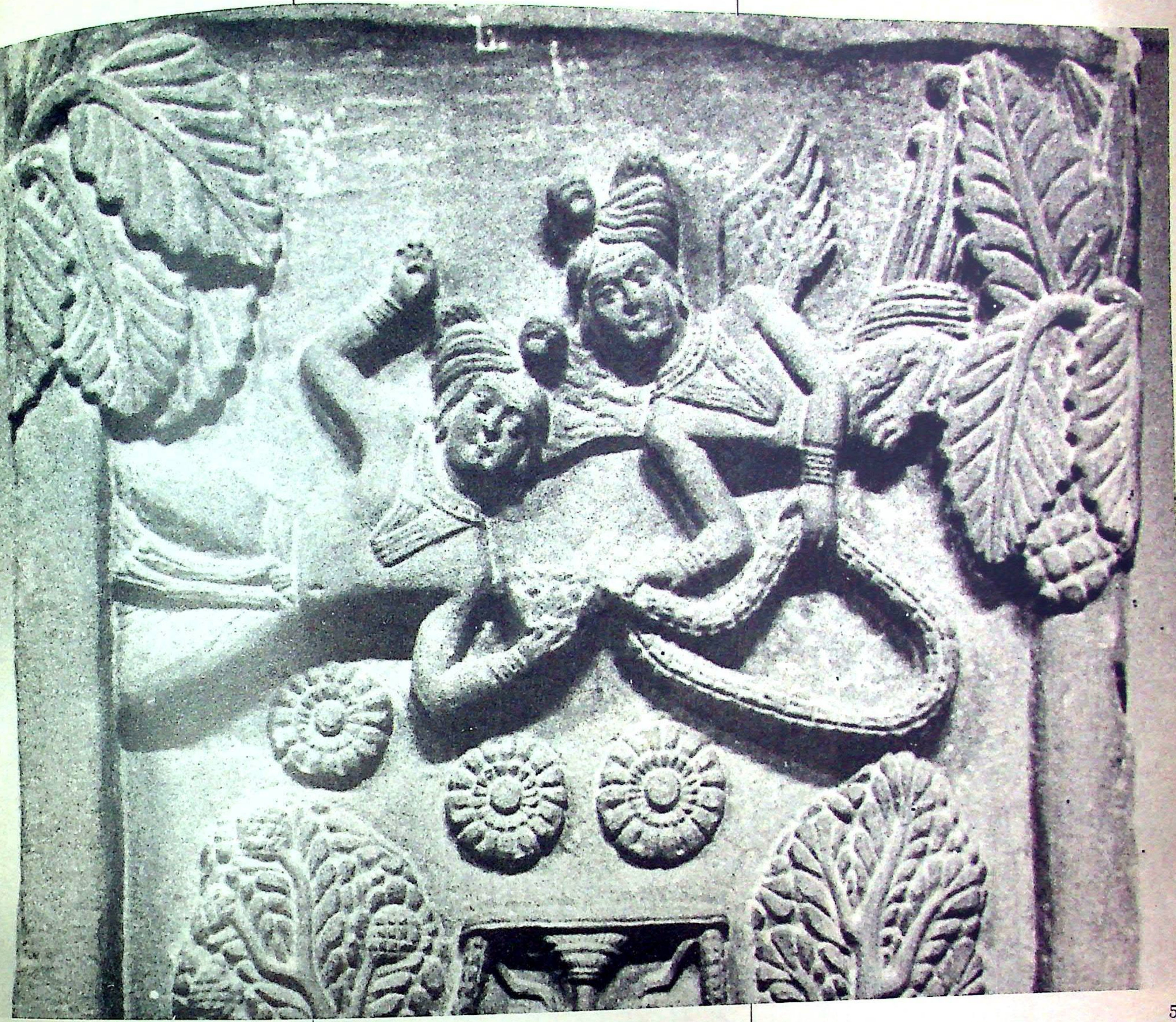
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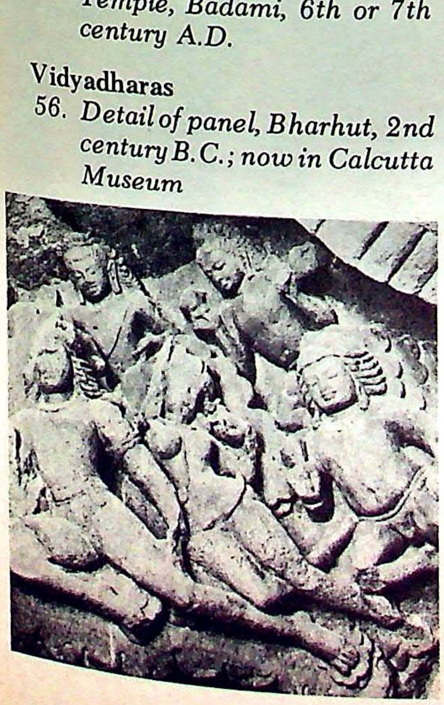
Ganas
52. *Gana, Cave I, Aurangabad, Maharashtra, c. 5th century A.D.*
53. *Bezwada, Andhra Pradesh, 6th century*
54. *Cave II, Badami.*
55. *Frieze, Malegitti Shivalaya Temple, Badami, 6th or 7th century A.D.*

Vidyadharas
56. *Detail of panel, Bharhut, 2nd century B.C.; now in Calcutta Museum*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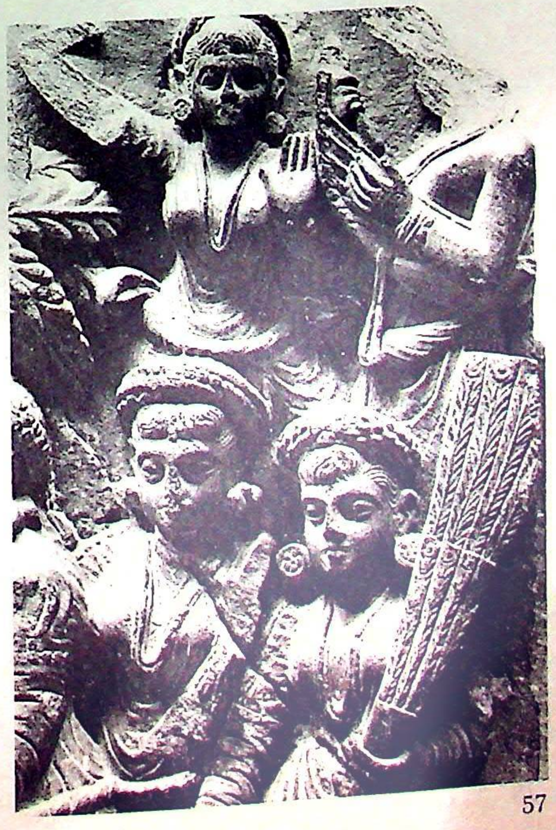
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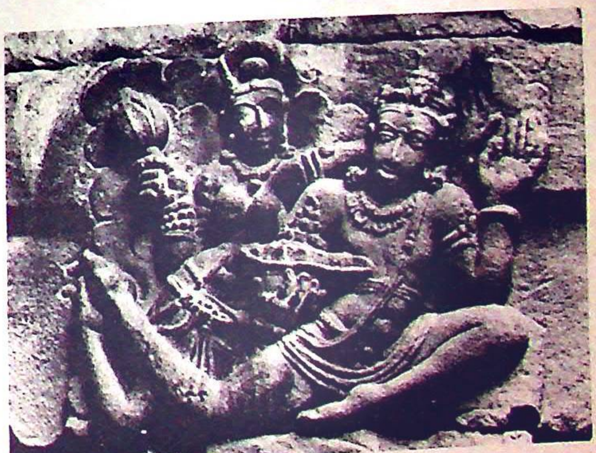
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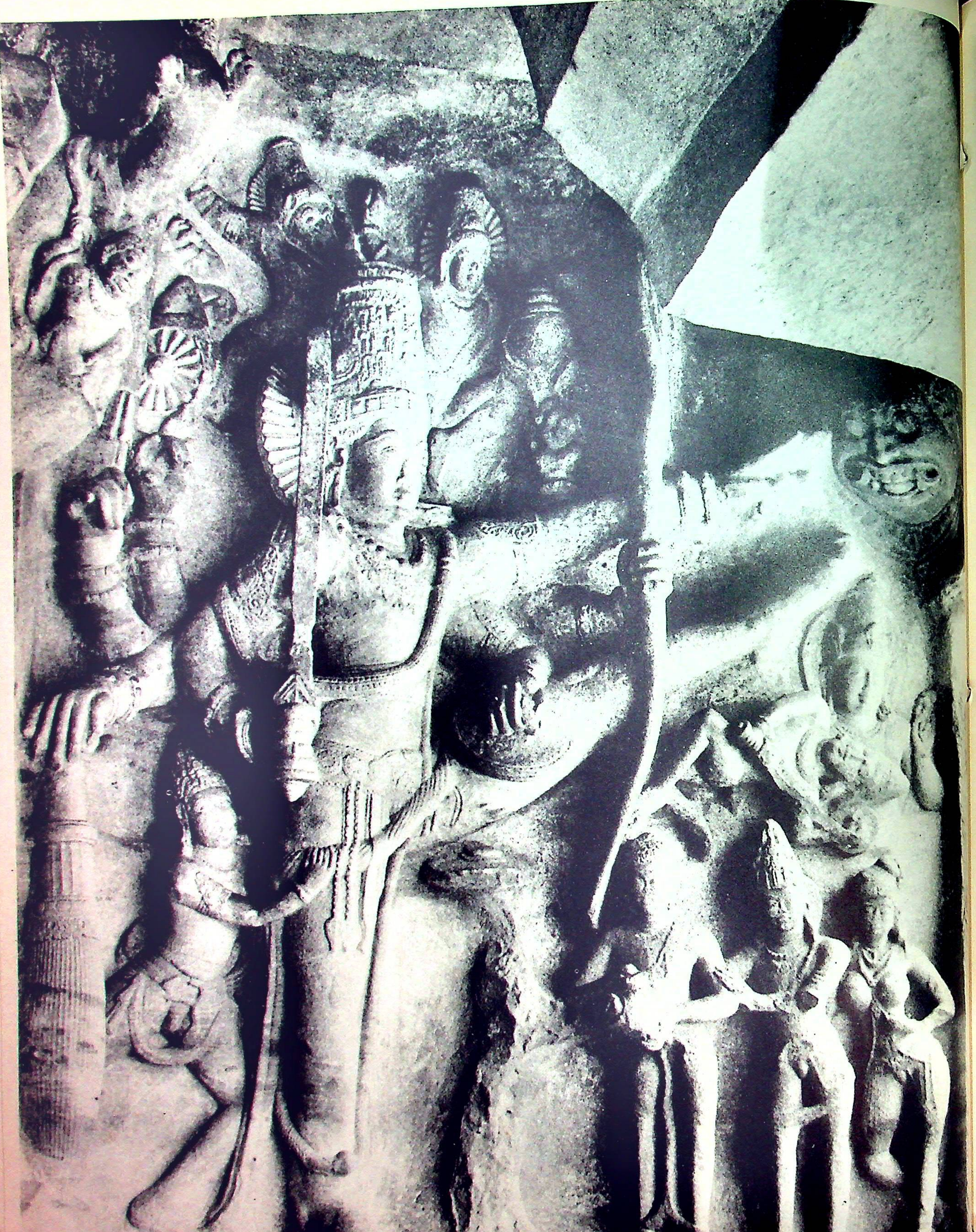
57. *Detail of panel, Gandhara, c. 3rd century A.D.*
58. *Detail, Umamaheshvara panel, Elephanta, c. 6th or 7th century A.D.*
59. *Bracket, Mallikarjuna temple, Pattadakal.*



Trivikrama, epithet of Vishnu, who in three steps encompassed the earth, atmosphere and sky — Agni, Vayu and Surya. Also symbolic of the three phases of the Sun — the rising, culminating and setting; Cave III, Badami, Chalukya, A.D. 650.

(Continued from page 40)

Meaning of the term "Chalukyan sculpture"

Since the period spanned is so long, and partly as a result of Chalukyan political expansion, various schools or guilds were involved in the contributions; and also since many different purposes were served, we must delimit the meaning of the term "Chalukyan sculpture". It can only apply to description of what exists at these sites, and it cannot conjure up a particular or specific idea of one style of art. We find many modes of work here. Some, like the Badami cave panels, are formal, hierarchical, monumental, at times almost archaic, while other works, the bracket figures in the same cave, for example, are lively, naturalistic, a depiction of life at its most temporal. There is much decorative ingenuity which reaches great heights of perfection in Cave I, Badami. There is sculpture made for playful moods, in humour. Statues range from the extravagantly elegant, as in the dvarapalikas in the Virupaksha temple north porch at Pattadakal or the Aihole ceiling panels, to the mundane and homely, provincial sculpture decorating some of the Aihole temples. The pierced windows of the temples are magnificent abstract creations, while there is almost portraitlike realism in some of the faces peering out of the decorative chaitya forms, as in Malegitti Shivalaya temple at Badami. In the Durga panel in the Ravana Phadi Cave at Aihole, vital energy is compressed to an excruciatingly extreme degree within the frame. In short, there is a vast range of artistic styles here.

In order to understand this art we must look not only towards sources in the past, but we have to approach each particular work according to its own criteria, always keeping in mind the most important fact that its creator was an individual whose own genius was directing the creative process. Because of the important variations in style, it would be unsafe to take for granted that there is a natural stylistic development which works inherently to produce a determined continuity from sites which are considered to be earlier than these (even if we were actually able to date each work authoritatively), or from the earlier to the later Chalukyan ones.

We must therefore concentrate on each unit, each as a unique work of art, examining it in order to capture the dynamics of its own inner life. In the case of the panels in Badami and Aihole, it is wise to recognize, at the very least, how mass and space are integrated, where the tensions or balances lie, how the rhythms function, how the forces and counter forces are resolved, all according to the codes of the science of sculpture which were developed by the shilpis and written in their secret manuals of instruction.[1]

The shrine serves various purposes

In Cave III in Badami, we discover, on the one hand, that the panels were created to serve ritualistic purposes exclusively, and on the other, that the bracket figures were probably designed to delight the sensuous, temporal predilections of an upper class, devoted to mannerism; two extremes of style are portrayed. The panels, while greatly differing in style from one another, ranging from the archaic, monumental and rigid stance of the Viratpurusha with his tubular and disproportionate limbs to the more dynamic, complex Trivikrama panel, in general do not depart from their exaggerated frontal propensity. Massiveness, large unbroken elements, rock-like solidity, verticality, stolidity, a kind of parochial idiom, are the characteristics of the panels which, with this style, capture elemental power, the essence of god. For the mass of people at this time and place, elementality spoke of god.

There is, to be sure, a slow departure from this in the development from Cave I, where the panels have a classic and balanced appearance, to Cave III. The Vishnu Bhogasanamurti panel, then the Varaha and finally the Trivikrama move in the direction of emphasis on the diagonal and of carving in depth and towards the introduction of more complex and numerous elements. Also the background begins to have some concavity, the elements sometimes spill out of the frame (as in Vishnu Bhogasanamurti and Trivikrama, etc.).

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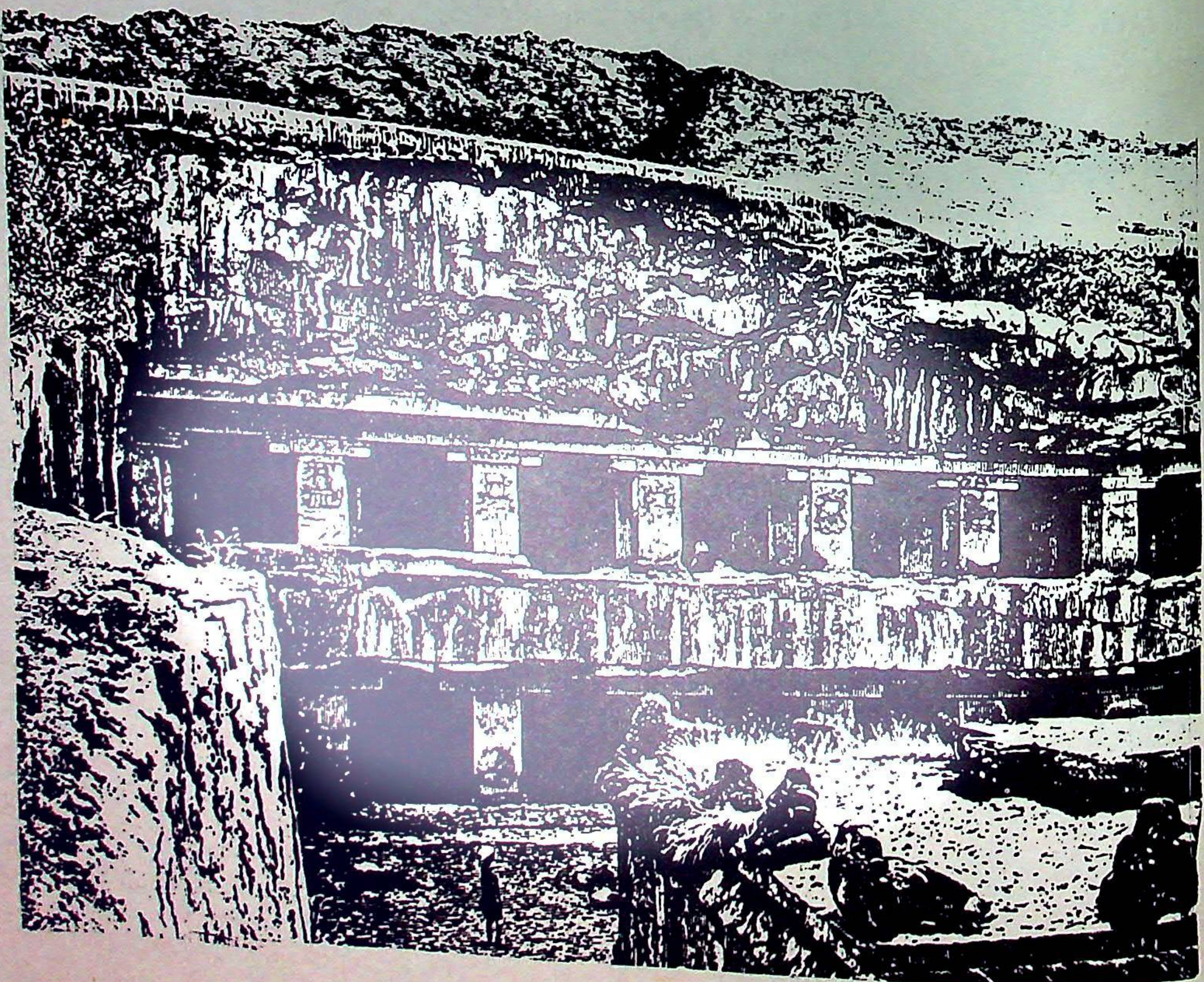
[1] *See* Alice Boner, *Principles of Hindu Composition*, E. J. Brill (1962) Leydon Press.

Nevertheless, no other Hindu panels in caves in India maintain such a formal quality, except perhaps the less aesthetically successful ones in Dhumar Lena, Cave 29, at Ellora. If one comes to the Badami panels directly from Elephanta, for example, one is struck with how much the hulky volumes of the images are still bound to the flat background of original rock and how little depth they really have.

It is therefore rather astounding to find the naturalistic carvings of the bracket figures in the very same cave, full of motion, rhythm, lightness of spirit, carved sometimes almost entirely in the round. Here the artists paid strict attention to realistic details, fussing over toes and hairdos, creating elegant figures that turn lithely in all directions. They depict delight in the temporal pleasures of life, grounded in the momentary. An upper class knew the joys of living in the here and now, and here, as at Ajanta, artists gave expression to the courtly sensibilities of their patrons. At the same time, in the panels, serious focus on the Brahmanical image life provided appropriate icons for the masses.

—CARMEL BERKSON



Dashavatara Cave, Ellora

Temples of Early Chalukyas:
Aihole, Badami, Mahakuta and Pattadakal

Historical Summary

The Early Western Chalukyas were one of the most important dynasties to rule the Deccan until the foundation of Vijayanagara. With Vatapi as their first capital the Chalukyas brought about the effective political unification of the Deccan from the middle of the sixth century A.D. and held their own for well over two centuries against powerful antagonists like the Pallavas in the south and Harshavardhana in the north. Inscriptions form the main source of information about the Chalukyas – these are found engraved on the stone walls of many temples, on loose slabs and detached columns or on copper plates; they are written in Sanskrit and Kannada, mostly employing a south Indian script. Despite the problems in assembling the inscriptions the main outline of Chalukya history is now regarded as well established. Outside the information yielded from inscriptions little help is to be had from literature.

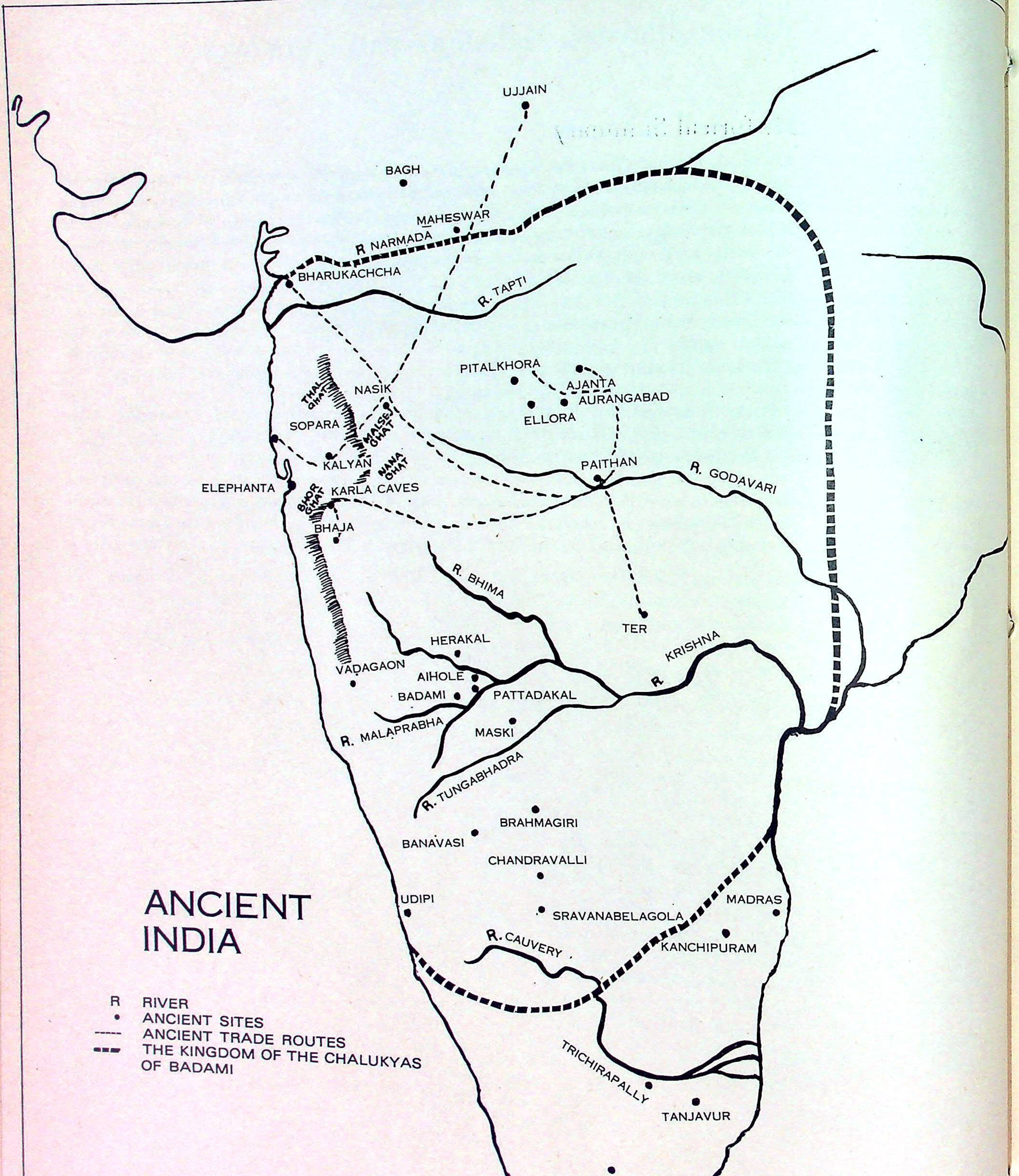
The appearance of the Chalukyas in peninsular India is associated with Pulakeshin I, the first ruler and founder of the dynasty. As for the earlier origins of the family, various legends are mentioned in the inscriptions but no record has yet been discovered that pre-dates the rule of Pulakeshin I, of whom there is an authentic document. This is an inscription carved on a boulder above Badami recording that the hill at Vatapi had been fortified above and below by Vallabheshvara (Pulakeshin I) prior to 544. Whether Vatapi had been the capital of the Kadambas, the rulers who preceded the Chalukyas in this part of the Deccan, is not known.

Kirtivarman I ascended to the throne in 567 and in the inscriptions of his son is called the first 'maker' of Vatapi and the 'night of death' to his enemies. Under his reign the influence of the Chalukya kingdom was extended in all directions. As a result of his orders a temple of Vishnu, carved in the cliffs above Badami, was completed by his younger brother, possibly half-brother, Mangalesha.

In 598 the rule of Kirtivarman I came to an end and Mangalesha succeeded him as regent during the minority of his eldest son, Pulakeshin II. Mangalesha's desire to secure the succession for his own son led to civil war between him and Pulakeshin II, in the course of which he lost his life. During his reign the policy of expansion was continued, particularly against the Kalachuris to the north and west.

The assumption of sovereignty by Pulkeshin II probably took place in 610. Pulakeshin II was a great soldier and all his martial ability was needed to accomplish the tasks that faced him on his succession to the throne. The civil war of the closing years of Mangalesha's reign had brought ruin on the Chalukya empire and the world was 'encompassed by the darkness of enemies'. Pulakeshin II built up the Chalukya empire once more and succeeded in bringing the whole of the Deccan under his influence. He started one branch of the family, the Eastern Chalukyas, on its long career in the Telegu country and paved the way for another branch which came into existence in southern Gujarat during the reign of his son. Unfortunately, Pulakeshin II must have aroused the animosity of his foes for his reign ended in a gloom worse than that from which it had emerged. But his work had been done so well that the empire he had built up survived even his fall and the civil strife that followed. The campaigns of Pulakeshin II's reign were first directed against the various kingdoms of the western Deccan which rapidly led to a conflict with the greatest conqueror of north India, Harshavardhana. After defeating Harshavardhana, sometime before 612, Pulakeshin directed an extensive campaign to the eastern Deccan, just south of which lay the territory ruled by the Pallavas. After an ineffective attempt to beseige the Pallava capital. Pulakeshin II returned to Vatapi.

In 642 the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, was travelling in the Deccan and south India. He moved peacefully from the Pallava domains into those of Pulakeshin II and left an account of what he saw. Soon after the departure of Hiuen Tsang the Pallava ruler, Narasimhavarman I,



ANCIENT INDIA

UJJAIN
BAGH
MAHESWAR
R NARMADA
BHARUKACHCHA
R. TAPTI
PITALKHORA
AJANTA
AURANGABAD
ELLORA
NASIK
THAL GHAT
MALSEJ GHAT
NANA GHAT
SOPARA
KALYAN
ELEPHANTA
BHOR GHAT
KARLA CAVES
BHAJA
PAITHAN
R. GODAVARI
R. BHIMA
TER
HERAKAL
VADAGAON
AIHOLE
BADAMI
PATTADAKAL
R. KRISHNA
MASKI
R. MALAPRABHA
R. TUNGABHADRA
BRAHMAGIRI
BANAVASI
CHANDRAVALLI
UDIPI
SRAVANABELAGOLA
MADRAS
KANCHIPURAM
R. CAUVERY
TRICHIRAPALLY
TANJAVUR
MADURAI
R RIVER
• ANCIENT SITES
----- ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES
▬ ▬ THE KINGDOM OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

who had completed his preparations against the enemy, invaded the Chalukya country and took Vatapi. Nothing more is heard of Pulakeshin II and an inscription at Badami attests to the Pallava occupation. How long the Chalukya capital remained in the hands of the Pallavas is not known; this period is marked by revolts of the Chalukya feudatories and succession disputes among the sons of Pulakeshin II. Such a situation was to continue until the emergence of Vikramaditya I who restored the unity and strength of the kingdom.

The inscriptions of Vikramaditya I date the commencement of his reign to 655. His success against the Pallavas was certainly part of the struggles that preceded his succession to the throne and probably continued for some years thereafter. He then recovered for himself the fortunes of his family by suppressing hostile feudatories and began the invasion of the Pallava territory. During his absence from the capital the home territory was ruled by his son, Vinayaditya, and grandson, Vijayaditya.

Vinayaditya succeeded his father at a date somewhere between 679 and 681. His inscriptions give the impression of a prosperous and peaceful reign. Vinayaditya's queen, Vinayavati, survived her husband and set up the images of three gods in the Jambulinga temple at Vatapi. Of the son, Vijayaditya, it is learnt that he took an active part in his father's campaigns. The recently discovered gateway at Ittagi was erected during the reign of Vinayaditya.

Vijayaditya's rule began in 696 and was to be the longest in the Vatapi period, perhaps also the most prosperous and peaceful. Like his father, Vijayaditya associated his son, Vikramaditya II, with him in the governing of the kingdom. In 731 his son returned from an expedition against the Pallava capital, probably the first of three expeditions there. Vijayaditya built a temple at Pattadakal, calling it 'Vijayeshvara' after his own name.

Vikramaditya II succeeded his father in 742 and soon after began the war against the Pallavas. In the inscriptions of his son, Kirtivarman II, the campaign is described in detail and the narrative is confirmed by the presence of an inscription of Vikramaditya II carved on one of the columns of the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram. The inscription makes it clear that Vikramaditya II was the aggressor on this occasion and some time later another successful expedition against the Pallavas was carried out. Two sisters from the Kalachuri family were the queens of Vikramaditya II; both built temples and founded charitable institutions. Lokamahadevi, the elder sister, built the Lokeshvara temple at Pattadakal; the younger sister, Trailokamahadevi, mother of Kirtivarman II, also erected a large stone temple at Pattadakal known as the Trailokeshvara.

Kirtivarman II succeeded his father in 745. The building activity that marked his father's rule continued under his reign. Kirtivarman II was the last Chalukya king of the Vatapi period. Danger to his rule came with the rise of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed. The Rashtrakuta ruler who actually overthrew Kirtivarman II was Dantidurga and an inscription of this king dated 754 speaks of the destruction of the Chalukyas as an accomplished fact. After striking up an alliance with the Pallava ruler, Nandivarman II, Dantidurga isolated Kirtivarman II and declared himself the sovereign power in the Deccan. That Kirtivarman II continued to rule for some years after the fall of Vatapi is indicated by a grant made by him from his 'victorious camp' on the Bhima river in 758. This is the last notice of the imperial line of the Early Western Chalukyas.

With the rise of the Rashtrakutas the Chalukyas disappear for over two centuries, only to emerge on the ruins of the Rashtrakuta empire with the rule of Taila II who commenced his reign in 974. Thus begins the Late Chalukya dynasty.

Architecture Introduction

The Early Western Chalukya temples concentrated at Badami, Mahakuta, Aihole and Pattadakal are among the most fascinating of India's sacred monuments. Not only do they constitute the largest group of stone buildings preserved from the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries anywhere in the sub-continent (there are over fifty temples still standing), but an examination of the temples also reveals a bewildering variety of form known at no other site. It would seem that the patronage of the Early Western Chalukya rulers was directly responsible for this intense building activity, promoting the transition from the rock-cut medium to structural stone techniques to create more ambitious and elaborately decorated sacred monuments. To this end, master architects were evidently encouraged to experiment with different techniques and designs, and celebrated sculptors and painters, together with a host of other craftsmen, were brought from different parts of the country. The Early Western Chalukya temples belong to one of the most creative phases in the history of Indian architecture and sculpture: the evolution that took place here in less than two hundred years was to have a profound impact on the subsequent development of the south Indian temple.

The origins of Indian architecture are still imperfectly understood due to the fact that the earliest phases in impermanent materials – mud, brick, thatch and bamboo – are now irretrievably lost. It is only when craftsmen began to carve into cliff faces in order to create rock-cut copies of vaulted timber structures that the recorded history of Indian architecture begins. From the period of Ashoka (third century B.C.) onwards, a series of chambers were excavated at various sites to accommodate Buddhist and Jain monks and to shelter their rituals of worship. By the time of the Gupta unification of northern India in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., these rock-cut sanctuaries were utilised by Hindus as well. This tradition was to continue in western India under the Kalachuris in the sixth century and in southern India under the Pallavas from the beginning of the seventh century. In matters of rock-cut architecture, therefore, the Chalukyas inherited a tradition that was almost a thousand year old: their contribution – the cave-temples at Badami and Aihole – constitutes one of the glories of this art in India.

Even so, the most significant achievement of the Early Western Chalukyas is their enthusiasm for constructed free-standing buildings. Evidence of the beginnings of stone architecture in India is exceedingly fragmentary: the earliest preserved examples from the Gupta period are small flat-roofed sanctuaries with adjoining porches, as at Sanchi and nearby Udaigiri. Unfortunately, the numerous structures erected in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, particularly in the sixth and seventh centuries in central India, have only survived in a ruined condition, as at Deogarh, Nachna and Ramgarh. These buildings illustrate the new significance of the sanctuary as the focus of the temple: it is provided with a finely carved doorway and sculptured wall panels set in elaborate niches, then surrounded by an ambulatory passageway and finally surmounted by a curved superstructure. Stemming from these examples several closely related architectural traditions develop as phases in the evolution of the north Indian temple. The Early Western Chalukya architects were well acquainted with this tradition and perhaps it is no accident that one of the largest groups of early temples executed in the northern style is found at these sites.

Artistic contacts with other parts of India, particularly the south (Pallava country) and the east, are also detected in the temples of the Early Western Chalukyas. These contacts are explained by the political career of the Chalukyas as the dominating force in the Deccan, in constant conflict with the neighbouring kingdoms for the maintenance of power. In this respect, the location of the Chalukyas, at the heart of the Deccan, is of great consequence for the temples that they constructed. Imported influences, often contrasting, are combined to produce a highly original hybrid architecture; they are also fragmented into a number of sub-styles. The confusion extends even into individual buildings, different parts of which are sometimes executed in contrasting styles which, in time, become part of the standard repertory of Chalukya architecture. Stylistic evolution does not always follow a straight linear path, though there is a general tendency towards increase of scale, emphatic three-dimensional massing and greater elaboration, well illustrated in the Pattadakal temples. At the same time, however, there is a reverse stylistic process: some of the Aihole temples are built in styles no longer current and architectural forms and decoration are copied as part of a conscious archaism. This tendency was to continue after the collapse of the Early Western Chalukyas – later temples erected at these sites often have a primitive 'early' appearance.

The story of Early Western Chalukya architecture opens in the second half of the sixth century with the cave-temples at Badami and Aihole. Here is clearly seen the heritage of the Vakatakas, Kalachuris and other dynasties who were the patrons of the celebrated rock-cut sanctuaries at Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta. The spacious columned halls leading to small sanctuaries set into the back walls, the elaborately decorated columns, brackets and beams, also the great sculpture panels depicting the deities to whom the temples are dedicated, are all derived from an earlier northern artistic tradition. However, the fluid style of the carved panels and the sumptuous decorative detail demonstrate a new inspiration and testify to the Chalukya genius. As much of the chronology of Indian rock-cut architecture is still uncertain, the dated cave-temple at Badami is one of the key monuments in this medium.

By the beginning of the seventh century the transition from the rock-cut medium to structural techniques was already under way. Within a few decades the summits of the sandstone cliffs overlooking Badami and Aihole were furnished with finely detailed buildings executed in a completely new manner. The outer elevations of the Upper Shivalaya temple at Badami and the Meguti temple at Aihole are divided horizontally into deeply moulded plinth, pilastered wall with sculpture panels (only niches at Aihole) and parapet concealing the roof slabs behind. This scheme becomes the constant feature of the new style, related in its essential characteristics to later Pallava architecture and, therefore, usually designated as 'southern'. (Both the Upper Shivalaya and Meguti temples are now ruined.) Another feature typical of the southern style is found in the three Shivalaya temples at Badami: the sanctuaries are provided with superstructures crowned by square-to-dome or octagon-to-dome roof forms. (The flexible timber origins of these shapes may still be seen on chariots utilised in temple festivals throughout India.)

The Chalukya architects quickly seized upon the possibilities offered by the new style, rapidly evolving a number of temple types that were erected at Badami, Mahakuta and Pattadakal. Above the outer walls and divided in the manner already described, there is the significant evolution of the superstructure as the dominating climax of the outer elevation. Repeating many features of the walls beneath, the towers of the temples rise in a number of stepped storeys crowned by a roof form – square, octagonal or circular based – usually capped by an auspicious pot finial. Adjoining the sanctuary is a columned hall, entered by an open porch often with balcony seating. An ambulatory passageway lit by pierced stone windows is also incorporated, surrounding the sanctuary on three sides. In the great Pattadakal examples minor shrines are added inside the hall and three porches give access from the exterior. By the eighth century the concept of the temple as a group of related structures is reached, probably influenced by Pallava architectural experiments that had been carried out at Mahabalipuram and Kanchipuram from about the end of the seventh century. Temples are combined with a detached pavilion for the 'vehicle' of the god (Nandi, in the case of Shiva sanctuaries) and are enclosed by walls with auxiliary shrines entered by imposing gateways. These early temple complexes are the forerunners of the great walled-temples with towered gateways that grew up all over south India in succeeding centuries.

At Aihole temples incorporate features from both northern and southern traditions. In addition, one finds open porch-like structures, perhaps deriving from secular village meeting halls. The Aihole temples are modest in scale, many of their features being closely related to temples at other sites. Halls are mostly divided by columns into three aisles with raised horizontal roof slabs over the central aisle and sloping slabs over the side aisles; the joints of the roof slabs are frequently protected with thin stone strips in obvious imitations of timber logs. Open porches are common, sheltered by a deeply overhanging curved eave: seats have inclined backs and columns are richly carved with guardian or amorous figures.

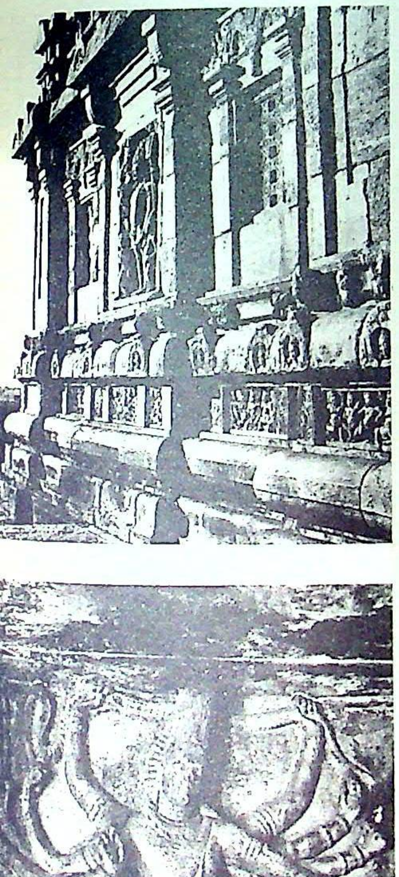
Several small structures at Mahakuta, Aihole and Pattadakal are provided with superstructures in the northern style. Here, ascending and diminishing tiers of decorated mouldings, every third layer completed by a ribbed fruit element (one of which also serves as the finial above), are arranged with the characteristic curved profile. There is a central projection on each side, that on the front face usually carved as a horseshoe arch framing an image of the deity to whom the temple is dedicated. At Aihole this tower is also combined with more elaborate structures, usually in the standard triple arrangement of sanctuary, hall and porch. Related to this northern tower is a similar but distinct superstructure type composed of ascending and deeply undercut plain mouldings, mostly with an angular profile. This appears to be a local-Chalukya invention and is found at Mahakuta and Aihole (Mallikarjuna and Galaganatha temples).

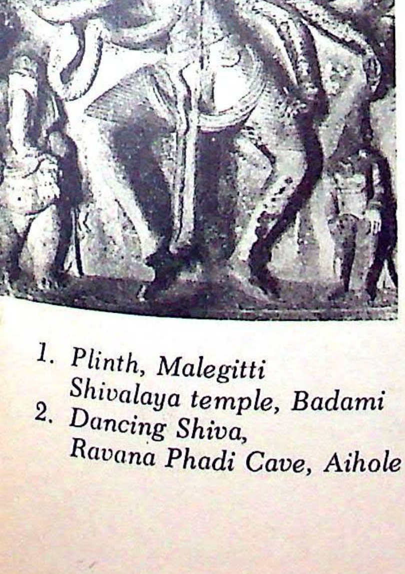
At several eastern sites under Early Western Chalukya control, especially at Alampur near the confluence of the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers, temples exhibit the results of intense stylistic evolution in the northern manner. This occurred from the middle of the seventh century onwards, contemporary with parallel developments in other parts of northern and western India (for example, temples at Amrol, Bateswara, Mahua, Nareswar and Osian). The chief characteristic of this new style is the increasingly complex treatment of the superstructure and wall niche in which the horseshoe arch motif is fragmented and recombined to produce lace-like designs of great delicacy. The Galaganatha, Papanatha and Kashivishvanatha temples at Pattadakal demonstrate that craftsmen at that site were keenly aware of this new fashion; at least one temple, the Galaganatha, was probably constructed and decorated by masons from Alampur.

An estimate of the profound influence that Early Western Chalukya architecture had on subsequent temple building in India is best seen in the great Rashtrakuta rock-cut monuments at Ellora. Cave 16 at that site, known as the Kailasa, is a stupendous fascimile of a Chalukya temple of the Pattadakal type excavated out of the mountain side. In the creation of the southern Indian temple the Chalukya monuments play a crucial role, together with those of the Pallava, in establishing an architectural formula that was to dominate all subsequent temple building activity in the peninsula, even to the present day. Succeeding dynasties of Chola, Hoysala, Late Chalukya, Vijaynagara and Nayaka rulers patronised a sacred architecture that directly developed from the schemes first built in stone at Badami, Mahakuta, Aihole and Pattadakal. As for the Chalukya temples belonging to the northern style and its hybrid local developments, these are an invaluable record of a tradition that has now mostly disappeared elsewhere in India but whose influence is well preserved at Badami, Mahakuta and Aihole.

Plinths

Early Western Chalukya temples are raised on deeply moulded bases carved with elaborate sculptured compositions. On the Badami Malegitti Shivalaya temple, as on many of the Aihole and southern style Pattadakal temples, mythical animals — *vyalas* and *makaras* — are positioned at the top of the plinth. They represent the carved ends of timbers that once formed the floors of earlier wooden structures, now vanished. Preserved in stone, these plinth animals form one of the constant feature of the southern temple style. At Pattadakal, beneath the porches of the great temples and open Nandi pavilion, lions and elephants appear, often engaged in violent struggle. Narrative mythological friezes depicting episodes from the life of Krishna or courtly scenes with royal figures and attendants are found on the base of the Aihole Durga temple (on the porch), on some loose slabs at Badami (possibly coming from the ruined Lower Shivalaya temple, now in the Badami site museum) and on the plinths of the large temples at Mahakuta. The style of these reliefs differs from that of the principal wall sculptures above — evidently different craftsmen were responsible for their execution.





1. *Plinth, Malegitti Shivalaya temple, Badami*
2. *Dancing Shiva, Ravana Phadi Cave, Aihole*

Wall Panels

Shiva

The mythology of Shiva dominates much of the Early Western Chalukya art. Panels depicting the god appear in Cave I at Badami and in the Brahmanical Cave at Aihole or on the pilastered projections on the walls of many of the structural temples at all sites. Images of Shiva dancing are particularly popular: they are found from the middle of the sixth century outside Cave I at Badami, as well as in the early eighth century in several examples on the great Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna temples at Pattadakal. This dynamic icon is often utilised for the horse-shoe arches placed against the front of the superstructures of the Pattadakal temples, as on the Jambulinga. In the Aihole Brahmanical Cave the dancing god is flanked by attendant females with unusual fluted clinging garments. Standing images of the god, sometimes as Lakulisha, holding an axe and ornamented with a snake are also known. The example from the Malegitti Shivalaya temple at Badami has the soft modelling characteristic of the early seventh century. The Sangameshvara temple at Mahakuta and the Jambulinga temple at Pattadakal, however, have standing Shiva figures with clearly defined forms suggesting a later date. Shiva also appears with his consort, Parvati, and Nandi in Cave I at Badami and on the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal. Co-joined with Parvati in a male-female figure, Ardhanarishwara, Shiva is found in the Brahmanical Cave at Aihole and on the Sangameshvara temple at Mahakuta. The relaxed posture and gentle feminine quality of the Mahakuta example is exceptional. Emerging out of the fiery lingam, Shiva also appears in a magnificent composition on the east wall of the Pattadakal Virupaksha temple.

Vishnu and the Goddess

Vishnu, too, is a prominent figure in Early Western Chalukya art. In the outer colonnade of the Durga temple at Aihole, the god is accompanied by the eagle-man, Garuda. It is, however, in his various incarnations that the god is mostly depicted. As the boar, Varaha, Vishnu rescues the earth, a creation myth that is particularly popular. Varaha appears in Caves II and III at Badami, in the Brahmanical Cave at Aihole, on the Kalakaleshvara temple at Mahakuta and on several other buildings, always in an identical posture, demonstrating a conservative iconography. Even the fluid style of the cave-temples is imitated in the panels on the structural temples. As Trivikrama, the giant pacing out the three cosmic steps, the god is carved in a magnificent panel at the end of the outer aisle of Cave III at Badami. The deeply modelled, almost three-dimensional, interpretation of the miraculous event is not retained in the rather flat version found on the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal. The goddess is also a significant figure in the art of the Early Western Chalukyas. In Cave I at Badami and the Brahmanical Cave at Aihole she slays the buffalo demon. It is, however, in the panels of structural temples that the force of this gesture is fully expressed, as in the Aihole Durga temple or the unique free-standing image placed in one of the minor shrines within the columned hall of the Pattadakal Virupaksha temple. Exceptional for its composition and refined carving is the Jain image of Ambika from the Meguti temple at Aihole, now housed in the museum at that site.

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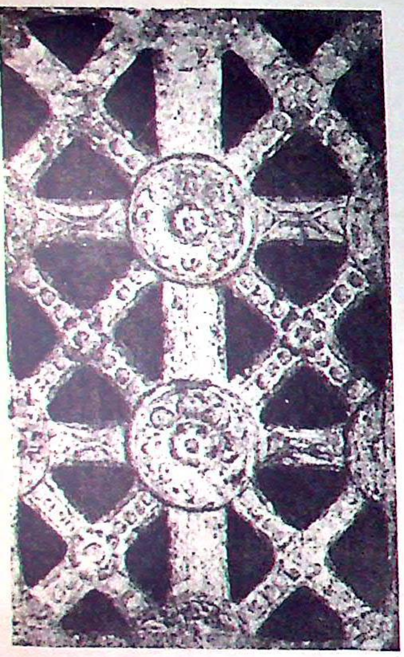

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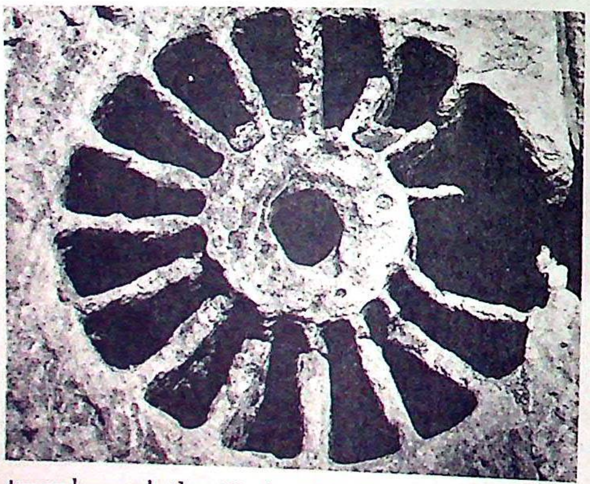

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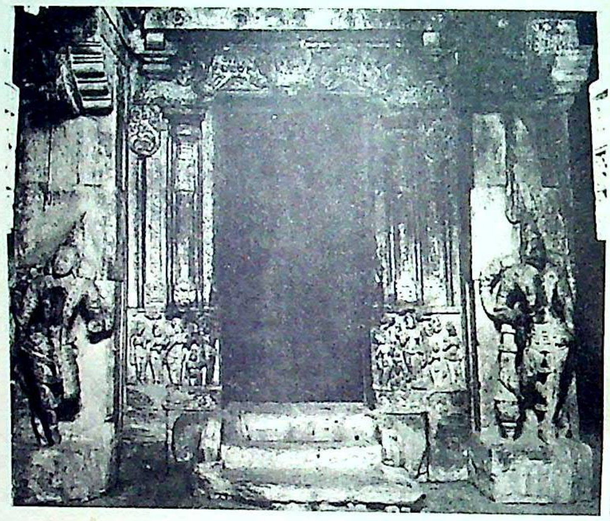


3. *Pierced window, Mallikarjuna temple, Mahakuta*
4. *Pierced window, Upper Shivalaya temple, Badami*
5. *Carved shrine doorway, Virupaksha temple, Pattadakal*

Windows and Door-ways

Light enters the dark interiors of Early Western Chalukya temples through pierced stone windows which provide superb examples of virtuoso carving. In many temples the windows clearly demonstrate their timber origins with their criss-cross 'bars'. In the Aihole Lad Khan temple these 'bars' are decorated with full lotus flowers whereas in the nearby Durga temple the windows are framed by pilasters surmounted by mouldings including aquatic monsters in the southern manner. The Nagral Naganatha temple has no sculpture panels on its outer walls but there are superbly carved windows framed by delicate ornamental parapet elements. Certain motifs are especially popular — the swastika, as in the Aihole Durga temple and the Kadasiddeshvara temple at Pattadakal; or foliation, amply illustrated in the many examples from the Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna temples at Pattadakal. Door frames are also elaborately carved replete with many auspicious motifs essential for the effective protection of the temple's sanctity. Undulating foliation in recessed bands appears around the doorways of the Badami caves and in the Two-storeyed temple at Aihole. The river goddesses, Ganga and Yamuna, often accompanied by attendant figures, constantly appear at either side of the door frame. One of the most impressive compositions is that of the Durga temple at Aihole; less sophisticated versions are found in the south-east temple of the Kunti group and in the Galaganatha temple, both at Aihole. The Gauda temple at the same site preserves one of the most elaborate and beautifully carved doorways in the northern style, found in many other examples as well. Here, the opening is framed by pilasters supporting three miniature niches created by horse-shoe arches, split and recombined. Garuda, holding serpents, appears to fly out of the lintel. The southern stylistic interpretation of this scheme replaces the niches with foliated aquatic monsters whose flowing tails partly conceal the supporting pilasters. Between their open jaws flows a jewelled garland which, in the Pattadakal Virupaksha and Papanatha temples, is furnished with a central medallion.

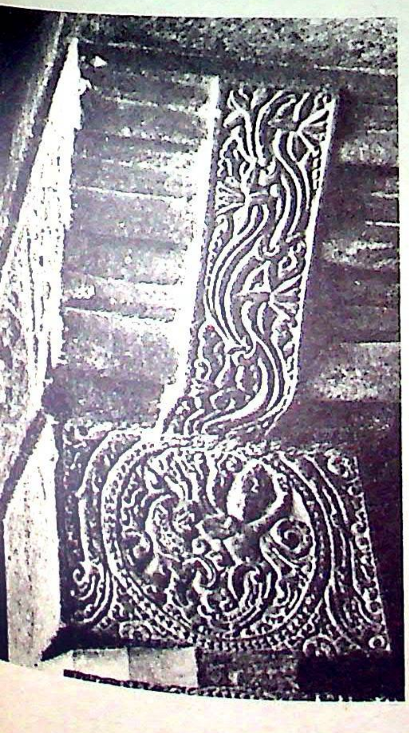
Porches

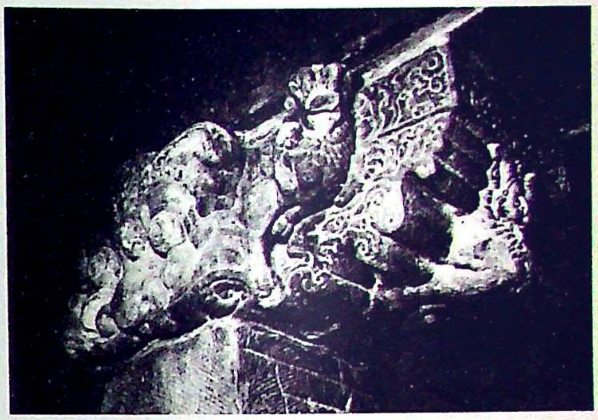
Early Western Chalukya temples are remarkable for their open porches with balcony seating, the backs of which are frequently carved with auspicious lotus pots. Sculptures richly embellish the porch columns, especially amorous couples. Numerous porch sculptures at Aihole, as in the Hucchappayya, Lad Khan and Hucchappayyamatha temples, depict couples exchanging embraces beneath trees. In the Durga temple and south-east temple of the Kunti group at this site, the

6. *Bracket and intricately carved medallion on a pillar, Cave I, Badami*
7. *Column bracket with Kirtimukha, Yali and foliated pattern, Papanatha temple, Pattadakal*
8. *Ceiling panel of Shiva and Parvati, Kunti Gudi temple, Aihole*

couples are invested with a graceful swaying movement. Horse-headed or part animal-bodied women, sometimes in violent embraces with their male consorts, also appear. The couples carved on the porch columns of the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal, as well as those on the columns of the outer hall of this example and the nearby Papanatha temple, are consummate examples of Early Western Chalukya art. Here, the figures are almost three-dimensional. The musical instruments, rich costumes and elaborate head-dresses indicate that these are courtly people. Single women, sometimes identified as river goddesses, are found on the Lad Khan and Hucchappayyamatha temples. As mothers, they are accompanied by small children on the Nandi pavilion in the courtyard of the Virupaksha temple. Another category of porch figures are the male guardians, invariably armed with clubs upon which they lean heavily, as in the Durga and Hucchappayya temples and the deeply carved examples in the Pattadakal temples. Unique is the mustachioed guardian in foreign dress on one of the porch columns of the Mahakuta Mallikarjuna temple, possibly a later addition.

Columns, Brackets and Beams

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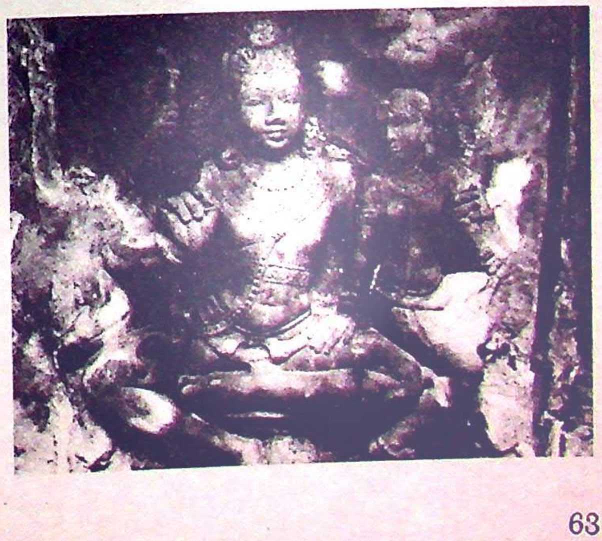
The halls and porches of Early Western Chalukya temples are greatly enriched with intricate relief decoration lavishly applied to column shafts. Framed in projecting bands, medallions and part-circles, this decoration consists of narrative reliefs, mythological scenes and a host of ornamental motifs. The Badami caves have exquisitely moulded columns decorated with medallions and garlands : those from Cave I are exceptional for their lyrical foliation. At Aihole the Lad Khan temple porch columns have a large variety of motifs executed in an unsophisticated style whereas the Durga temple at the same site, with its friezes of dwarfish imps and amorous couples on the porch columns, shows a dependence on themes from the Badami cave-temples. In the twin Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna temples at Pattadakal an enormous body of narrative art is found carved on the columns, together with birds and animals embellished with foliation and jewelled garlands. The columns of the Aihole Chikki temple are delicately carved with rearing animals in the northern manner. Supporting the beams above the columns in many temples, are brackets fashioned into rearing mythical animals. The brackets above the outer columns of Cave III at Badami become leafy arbours sheltering amorous couples beneath. In the great Pattadakal temples, especially the Papanatha, as well as in several examples at Aihole, brackets are transformed into mythical beasts emerging out of the mouths of aquatic monsters — a motif first found in the Badami cave-temples. The beams supporting the roof slabs are also decorated in many temples. In several Aihole examples these are carved with lotus stalk and flower ornament; in the Hucchappayya temple at that site, a frieze of mischievous dwarfs is also included.

Ceiling Panels

Great skill is lavished on the carving of the ceiling in Early Western Chalukya temples, which form a unique group in Indian art. Several temples have their ceilings carved with images of the principal trio of Hindu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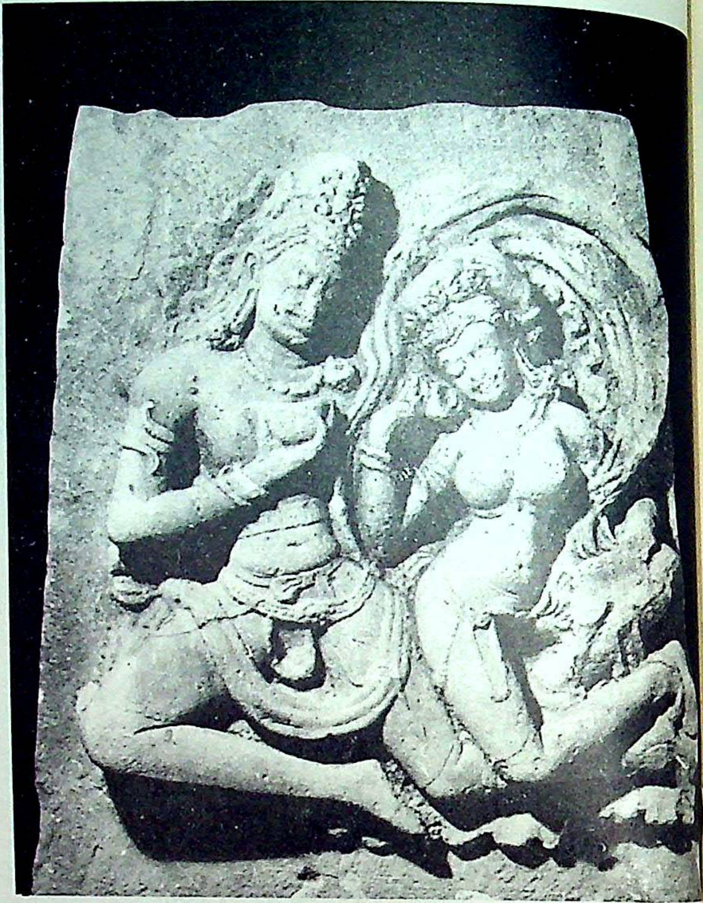
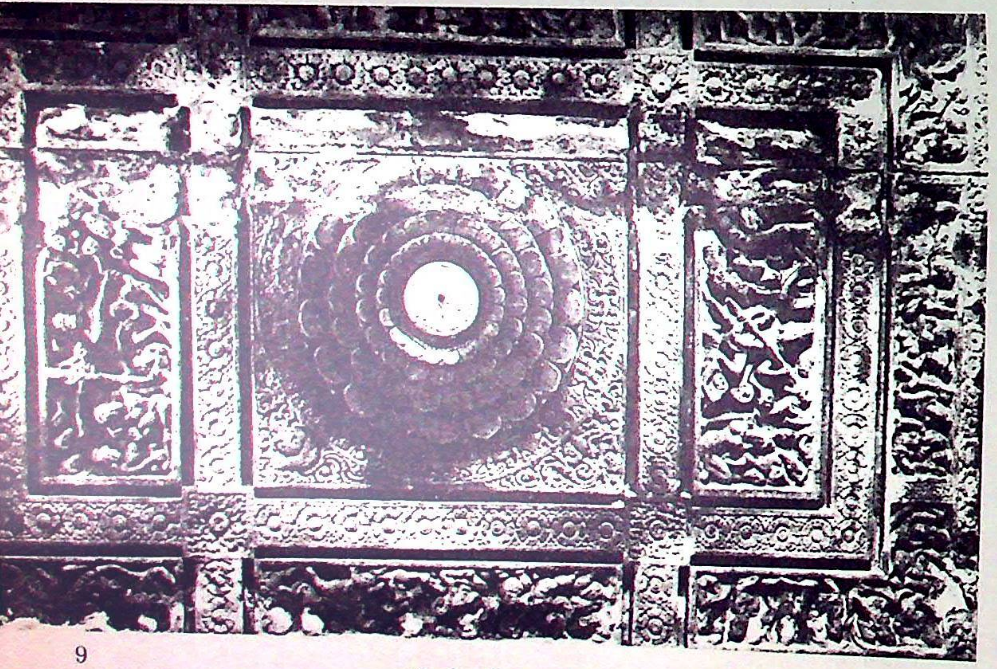
divinities, Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma, implying that these deities were worshipped together. In the north-west Kunti, Hucchappayyamatha and Hucchappayya temples at Aihole these three divinities appear on the undersides of the horizontal roof slabs above the central aisles of the halls. (The panels from the Hucchappayya temple are now in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay). Framed by borders of lotus stalk decoration, the three deities from these temples ride through the air on their animal vehicles. Shiva, with Parvati on Nandi, is also found in the Mallikarjuna temple at Mahakuta, the Naganatha temple at Nagral and the Badami Jambulinga temple, in a series of compositionally and stylistically similar ceilings. Vishnu appears in a number of forms—in a small medallion in the Brahmanical Cave at Aihole, Vishnu rides on Garuda; the god is surrounded by the eight guardians of the directions of space in Cave III at Badami and in the Jambulinga at that site, Vishnu is seated in an octagonal frame. Only the ceiling panels in the Chikki temple at Aihole represent the god in his various incarnations. The image of Kartikeya in the porch of the Aihole Hucchimalli temple and the great composition depicting the sun god, Surya, riding on his chariot in the east porch of the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal are unique.


10. *Flying couple, Durga temple (now in the National Museum, New Delhi)*


9. *Ceiling panel, Chikki Gudi temple, Aihole*

Also found on ceiling panels are a host of themes unrelated to any particular cult and generally decorative and protective in character. In the two cave-temples at Aihole a delicate decoration covers the whole ceiling, rather like a suspended textile : here are found geometric designs and aquatic monsters or couples emerging out of an exuberant foliation. Flying couples, in fact, are an extremely popular ceiling motif. The most celebrated examples from the Durga temple at Aihole (now in the National Museum, New Delhi) have billowing garments, vividly suggesting the rapid flight of the figures through space. In Cave I at Badami, flying couples are also found, the male figures brandishing swords. The auspicious swastika and fish wheel are common motifs; both are seen in Badami Cave II and in later copies in the nearby Jambulinga temple. The coiled serpent with a human torso at its centre is one of the most striking of all ceiling motifs —it appears suspended over the entrance to Cave I at Badami, the porch of the Aihole Durga temple, and in the halls of the large Pattadakal temples. Ceiling designs often reappear as windows in the temples.

Sacred Sites

The modern villages of Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal
and the nearby temple sites of Mahakuta, Nagral and Siddhanakolla are concentrated
in a small area of the Bijapur district in northern Karnataka,
on and near the banks of the Malaprabha river
which flows in a north-easterly direction towards the Krishna river.
Hills enclose much of the area so as to create a valley, about 20 kilometers long
and up to 5 kilometers wide.
At either end the valley is partly blocked off by large rocky outcrops
beneath which are the villages of Badami and Aihole,
fortified in Early Western Chalukya times in order to guard the approaches.
No doubt, the valley was once well irrigated to produce rich crops of grain,
an important source of wealth for the Early Western Chalukyas.
Until recently, the only other Early Western Chalukya temples
known were those situated well beyond the confines of this valley,
along the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers at Alampur and other sites,
a distance of more than 250 kilometers to the east.
But the discovery of a gateway at Ittagi and a number of small structures at Hungund and
Sulebhavi, all from this period, has not substantially altered the impression
of a strongly centralised kingdom with a concentrated artistic activity.

The reasons why the Early Western Chalukyas chose this part of the Malaprabha valley
as their dynastic seat and the focus of their architectural enterprises
are not exactly known.
Strategic consideration probably dictated the choice of the horse-shoe
of sandstone cliffs at Badami that was fortified in the middle of the sixth century
to create the capital, Vatapi.
But neither power nor politics explains the profusion
of temples erected in this area from the beginning of the seventh century onwards,
continuing even after the collapse of the Early Western Chalukyas.
The valley itself, exceptional for the beauty of its natural features,
must have been of considerable significance.

Hindu temples have always been built at sacred sites,
places where the gods reveal themselves to man.
The ancient manuals on temple building,
the Shastras, frequently emphasise the importance of these places,
describing their qualities in some detail.
There is also a more profound level of symbolism which imbues
features of the landscape – especially mountains,
caves, rivers and lakes – with a particular importance.

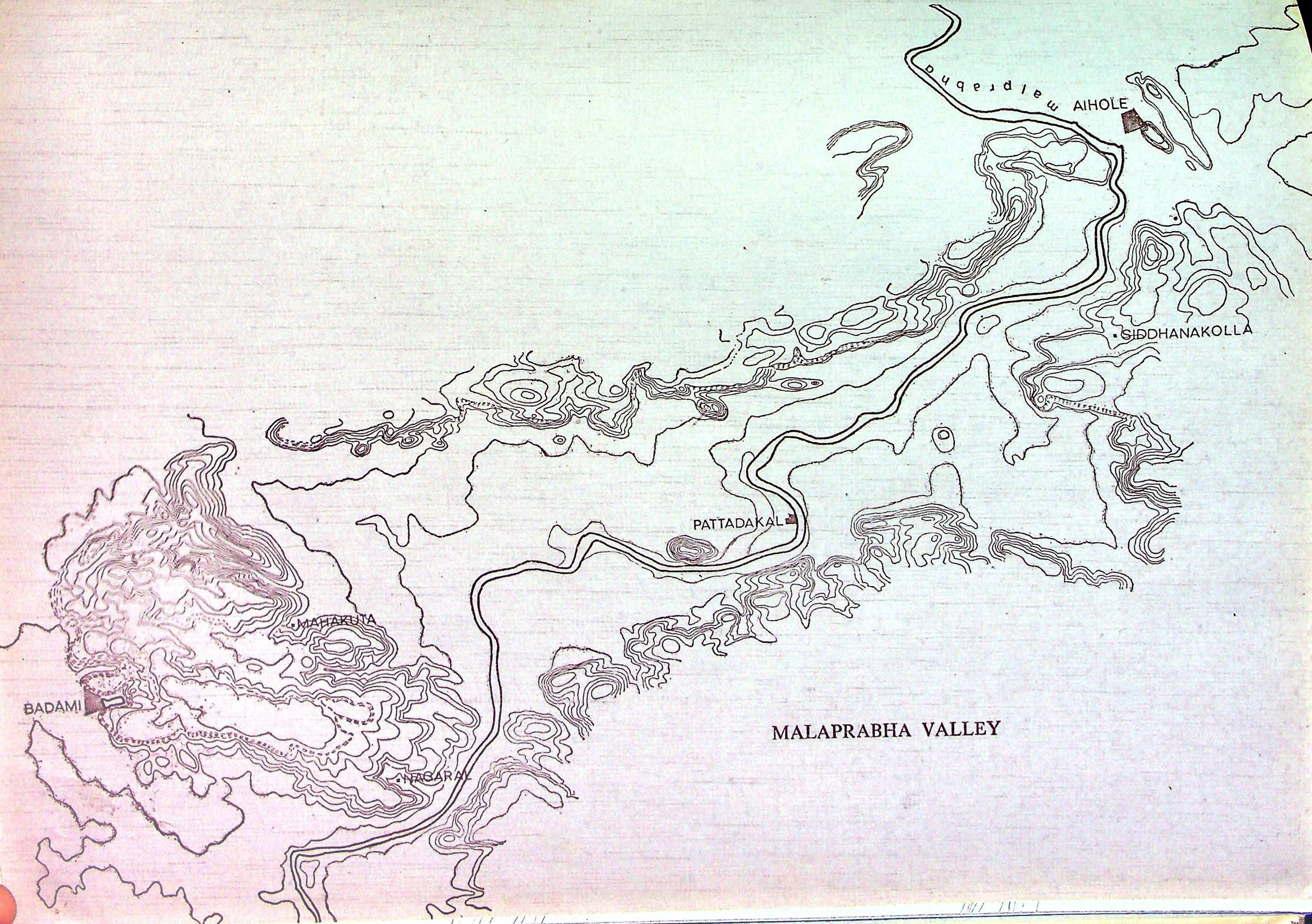
Sacred mountains play a prominent role in Hindu mythology,
particularly as the residences of the gods.
Both Badami and Aihole are dominated by outcrops of rock
on the summits of which important temples were constructed
in Early Western Chalukya times.
Built of the same sandstone as the cliffs,
the temples appear to grow out of the mountains
as artificial 'peaks'.
The three Shivalaya temples
above Badami, and the Meguti temple overlooking Aihole
are dramatic illustrations of the mountain-temple idea.

Related to the sacred mountain is the cave;
its dark and confined interior is invested with great sanctity.
Though there are a few small natural caverns in the sandstone outcrops
along the valley which are treated as temples,
it is artificially excavated grottos at Badami and Aihole
that fully express the cave-temple concept.
Exploiting their picturesque settings and the richly-grained red sandstone,
these cave-temples lead into the womb-like interior of the mountain.

Water is an essential feature of all Indian sacred architecture:
no temple can function without a ritual bathing place,
used by the priest and all who come there for worship.
Pattadakal, the site of the greatest Early Western Chalukya temples,
is situated on the banks of the Malaprabha river at a point
where the water flows auspiciously northwards.
(According to Hindu cosmology,
the Himalayas to the north constitute the magic centre of the universe.)
Sacred springs, too, have great significance and at least two sites in the area,
Mahakuta and Siddhanakolla, owe their sanctity to pools of sweet water
renewed by springs flowing out of clefts in the rocks.
At Mahakuta the water is collected in an artificial tank, at the centre
of which is a small pavilion sheltering a four-faced Shiva lingam.
This lingam is the most auspicious object at Mahakuta,
still revered today by pilgrims who splash it with water
before visiting the adjacent temples.
The small cavern adjoining the tank, reached only by diving beneath the water,
is furnished with another lingam.
At Siddhanakolla the spring water flows over images carved on boulders.
One of these is fashioned into the likeness of a woman with a lotus head displaying her sex—
a potent symbol of fertility.

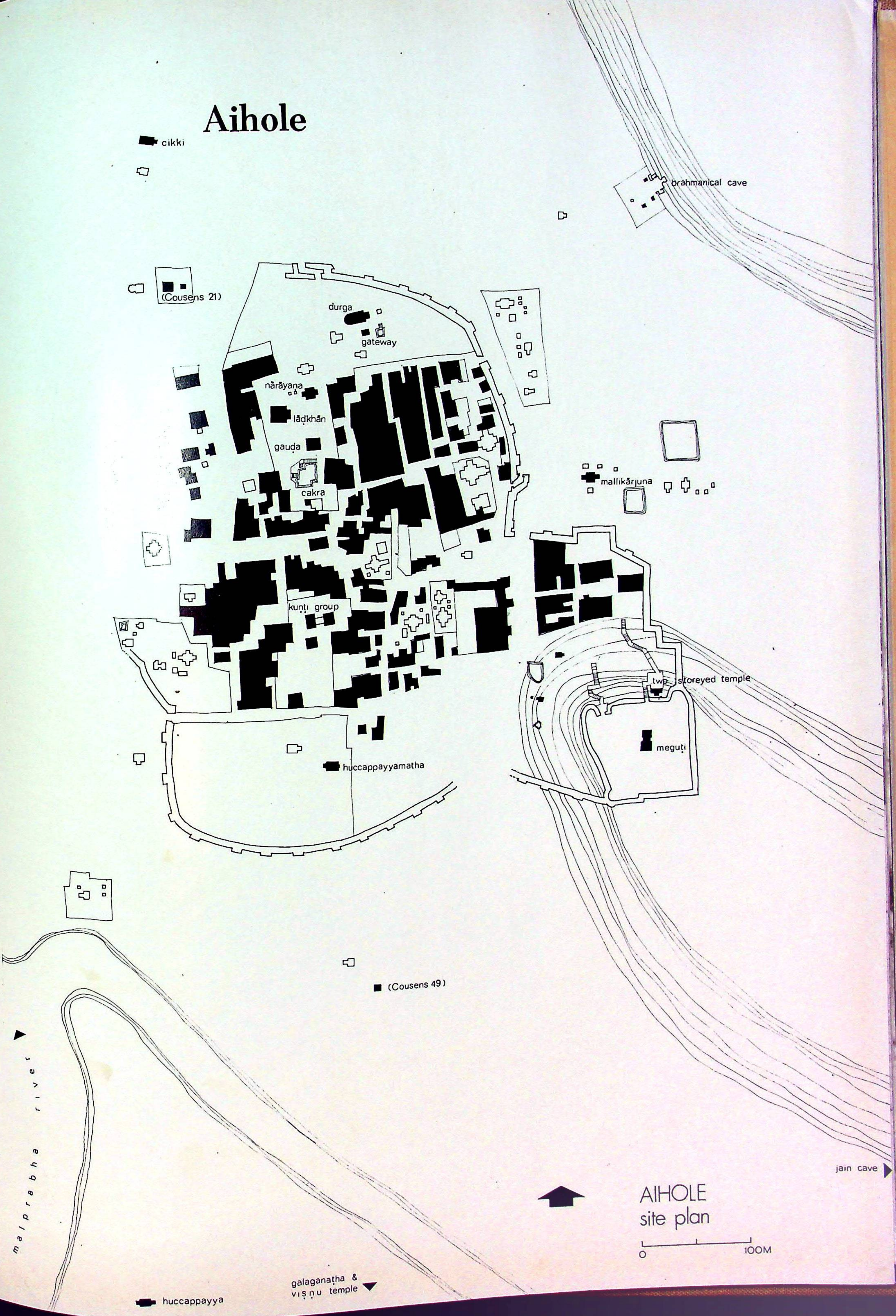
Many temples are built near to artificial lakes, or tanks,
lined with stone walls and entered by descending flights of steps.
At Badami, the great tank is surrounded on three sides by cliffs;
on the fourth side is a constructed wall, probably erected when the town was first fortified.
Several temples on the edge of the water are provided with steps
leading down for bathing.

One of these temples, the Bhutanatha, belongs to the Early Western Chalukya period.
At Aihole, there are several tanks around which temples are grouped both inside
and outside the walls enclosing the ancient town.
The recently discovered Early Western Chalukya structure at Sulebhavi is,
in fact, nothing other than a monumental gateway leading down to a tank.


malaprabha
AIHOLE
SIDDHANAKOLLA
PATTADAKAL
MAHAKUTA
BADAMI
NAGARAL

MALAPRABHA VALLEY

Aihole


cikki
brahmanical cave
(Cousens 21)
durga
gateway
nārāyana
lāḍkhān
gauḍa
cakra
mallikārjuna
kunṭi group
two storeyed temple
meguṭi
huccappayyamatha
(Cousens 49)
malprabha river
jain cave
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site plan
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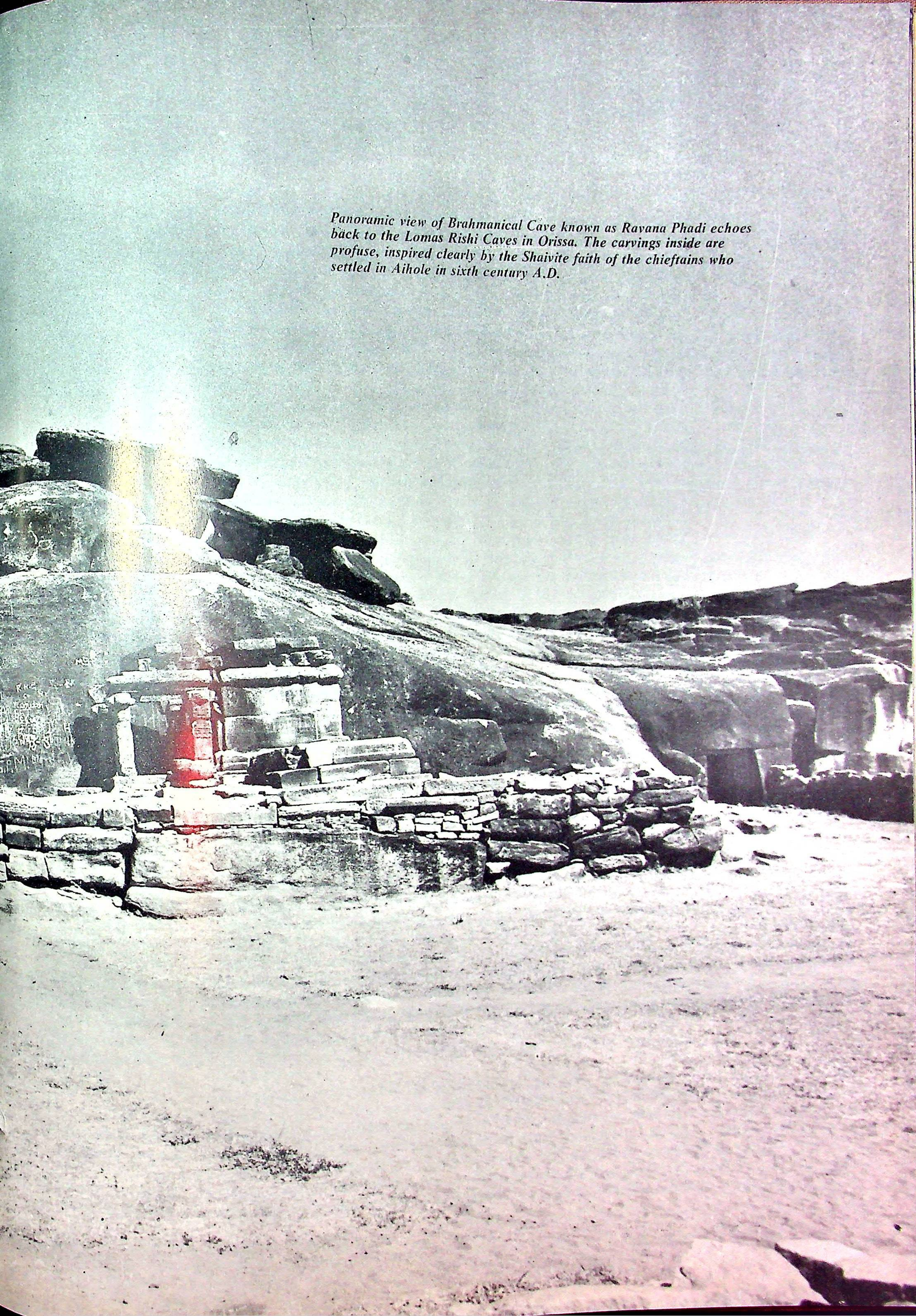
viṣṇu temple
huccappayya



Panoramic view of Brahmanical Cave known as Ravana Phadi echoes back to the Lomas Rishi Caves in Orissa. The carvings inside are profuse, inspired clearly by the Shaivite faith of the chieftains who settled in Aihole in sixth century A.D.

Aihole

The modern village of Aihole is dominated by a steep hill to the south-east provided with fortifications, some of which may go back to Early Western Chalukya times. On the flat top of the hill is the Meguti temple, the only dated monument at Aihole, and several stone dolmens, perhaps erected by pre-Chalukya peoples. On the northern side of the hill is a two-storeyed temple and three small structures; at the south-eastern end is a Jain cave-temple, the sculptures of which are partly incomplete. The ancient walls at Aihole may still be seen enclosing the town approximately in a circle. The stepped entrance gateways and buttressed walls are of particular interest as they furnish one of the most complete examples of stone fortifications from this period. Both within and outside these walls are many temples belonging to various building phases. (Only those from the Early Western Chalukya period are considered here: these are indicated in black on the site plan.) That building activity continued under the Later Chalukyas is everywhere apparent and some temples owe their present appearance to several phases of construction. Somewhat confusingly, many of the temples have been named after local inhabitants in recent times and do not indicate the original dedication. Within the walls of the town the Early Western Chalukya temples are concentrated in two groups – those surrounding the tank (Chakra, Gauda, Lad Khan, Narayana and Durga temples) and those to the south, comprising the four temples of the Kunti group and the Hucchappayyamatha temple. To the north of the town are the Chikki, Hucchhimalli and Tarappa temples. In the side of a rocky outcrop to the north-east is an excavation known as the Brahmanical Cave or Ravana Phadi. To the east is the Mallikarjuna temple. Some distance to the south are several structures including the Hucchappayya temple (not to be confused with the Hucchappayyamatha temple). Despite the proliferation of ancient monuments at this site and the clear indication of an urban population (both inscriptional and archaeological), it is not known what function Aihole had for the Early Western Chalukyas. That the town was an important commercial centre is suggested by temple inscriptions that mention the 'Ayavole 500 Guild' of merchants. Evidence of brick building during the pre-Chalukya period has been discovered and, though fragmentary, suggests that the town was already in existence in the fifth century.

Meguti Temple

Unusually orientated to the north, this temple bears an inscription dated 634, from the time of Pulakeshin II, making it one of the earliest dated monuments in India. Though now partly ruined, possibly never completed, the building provides important evidence about the early development of the south Indian temple style. The outer walls are clearly articulated into plinth, pilastered wall surface and parapet above, all rhythmically projecting and recessing. Both pre-carved panels and sculptures executed *in situ* would have been incorporated. The temple appears to have been originally a Jain foundation and a seated Jina figure is found in the sanctuary. The superstructure rising above the sanctuary walls is not original, and the sixteen-columned porch and hall extension are later additions.

Two-Storeyed Temple

Partly structural and partly excavated into the side of the hill, this temple is arranged on two levels. Two chambers flanking a central sanctuary open off a narrow corridor on the lower level; the upper level has only a single sanctuary entered directly from a porch. The delicate relief carvings of the doorways are similar to those from the Badami cave-temples, suggesting an early date. A ceiling panel in the upper porch has been variously identified as a seated Jina or Buddha.

Brahmanical Cave (Ravana Phadi)

This small cave-temple differs in plan from the Badami examples – the sanctuary in the rear wall is enlarged and provided with a vestibule flanked by carved panels, entered through a triple entrance; the hall is replaced by a central space off which open minor shrines to either side through triple entrances. Despite the variety of images found here, the great dancing Shiva in the left shrine and the lingam inside the sanctuary suggest an over-all Shaiva affiliation. The ceiling is delicately incised with decorative motifs. The guardians in foreign dress at the entrance are unique. In front of the cave are three small temples, their sanctuaries entered by porches on four columns. A fluted stone column, now broken, stands outside the cave-temple on axis with the entrance.

Hucchimalli Temple

The northern style superstructure of this temple is a later addition, as is the porch seating: the original temple presents a simple walled rectangle containing a sanctuary, ambulatory passageway, columned hall and porch. The roof slabs slope on three sides only. Inscribed on the outer walls is a grant made by Vijayaditya in 708.

Chikki Temple

This temple is similar to the Gauda temple – the open porch of the latter is here replaced by walls containing perforated stone screens lighting the ambulatory passageway on three sides. The decoration of the interior columns, beams and ceiling panels is exceptional for its delicacy and clear northern character.

Lad Khan Temple

Though frequently assigned to the Gupta or post-Gupta periods, there can be little doubt that this temple is an Early Western Chalukya monument, probably belonging to the late seventh or early eighth century. The temple is unique: a spacious columned hall, roofed with sloping slabs arranged in two tiers, has a small sanctuary against its back wall, as in the cave-temple at Badami and the nearby Kunti temples. Great pierced stone screens on three sides light the interior. Above the centre of the hall and supported on the horizontal roof slabs is a second smaller sanctuary with images carved on the outer walls. A stone ladder in the porch provides access to this upper shrine. The strips of stone protect the joints between the roof slabs. The porch columns have decorative reliefs, and, at the entrance to the temple, are carved with river goddesses and couples beneath trees. Pots and other auspicious motifs appear on the balcony slabs.

Durga Temple

The largest and most elaborately decorated monument at Aihole, this temple is celebrated for its apsidal-ended plan, a structural imitation of the Buddhist rock-chaitya halls. Elevated on a deeply moulded plinth, the temple is surrounded by an open colonnade and consists of a semi-circular sanctuary and ambulatory passageway, columned hall with three aisles and porch with balcony seating. The northern style superstructure above, though awkwardly placed on the apsidal-ended roof, appears to be original. The outer columns at the entrance and within the porch are carved with auspicious couples, guardian figures and ornamental reliefs. The doorway to the hall is richly decorated in the northern manner. In the outer colonnade pierced stone windows and sculpture panels are framed by niches displaying the complete repertory of decorative motifs known to the Chalukya artists. Many of the sculpture panels suggest a Vaishnava affiliation for the temple. The scale and rich elaboration indicate a late seventh or early eighth century date. A gateway to the south may have once formed part of an enclosure wall.

Gauda Temple

According to an inscription, this temple was dedicated to the goddess Durga Bhagavati. Though associated with ceramic remains from the fifth century it is unlikely that the temple predates the seventh century. The structure is of great interest as it appears to preserve in stone an early open-columned building type. Here, a rectangular sanctuary is positioned within a porch so as to create an ambulatory passageway on three sides and a hall to the east. The roof slabs are raised and horizontal over the central three bays and sloping on four sides. The ornamental parapet upon the flat slabs does not constitute a superstructure. Balcony seating all around has sloping stone backs carved with a frieze of auspicious pots. The ceiling slabs above the hall are damaged but the sanctuary is a well-preserved example in the northern style. The empty niches on the outer sanctuary walls are surmounted by horse-shoe arched motifs.

Kunti Group

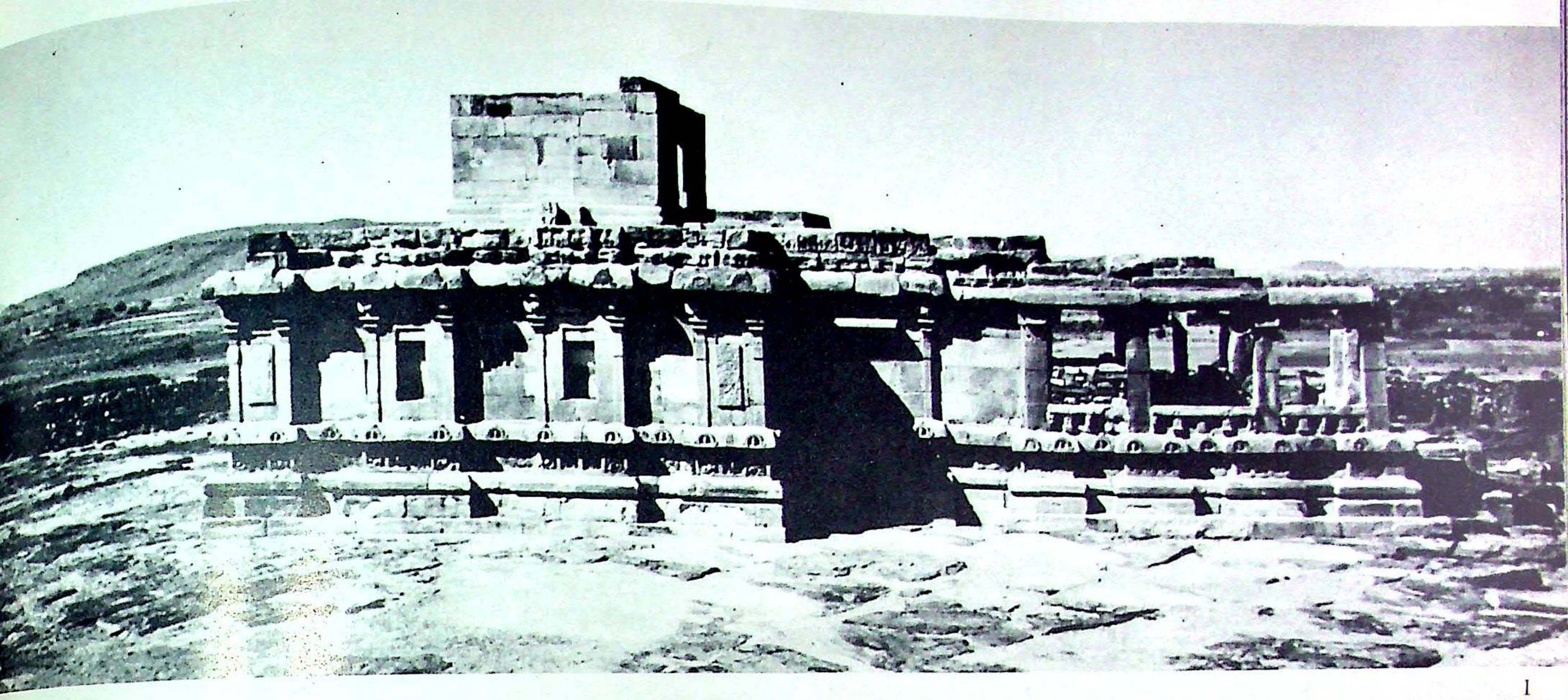
The four temples of this group were once believed to be among the earliest at Aihole but they belong to the late seventh and early eighth centuries (the north-east temple is probably later). The south-east temple which until recently had been completely concealed within a private house is the earliest of the group. Unusually oriented to the north it consists of a small cell against the back of a columned hall, open at one end like a porch. The outer columns are carved with amorous couples and sheltered by an overhanging curved eave. This basic scheme is copied in the two western temples of the group where the halls are elongated. The roof slabs in the temples are raised and horizontal over the central bays and sloping on four sides. The north-west temple is provided with a fine series of ceiling slabs representing the gods of the Hindu trinity. There is much evidence of re-cutting of columns, particularly in the south-west temple, and there have been various additions such as infill slabs and renewed sanctuary doorways. The reason for the construction of the gateway, awkwardly positioned between the two northern temples which face each other, is not apparent.

Hucchappayyamatha Temple

This modest temple consists of a flat-roofed sanctuary adjoining a columned hall, originally open at its eastern end. The columns are carved with characteristic couples and attendant figures. The interior has three fine ceiling panels and delicate foliation on the supporting beams. In its carved ornamentation the temple may be compared to the Lad Khan, Hucchappayya and Gauda temples.

Hucchappayya Temple

Celebrated for its three ceiling panels depicting the triad of Hindu divinities (now in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay) this temple presents the standard Aihole interpretation of the northern style. The arrangement is tripartite—square sanctuary surmounted by the characteristic curved superstructure, rectangular columned hall with raised horizontal roof slabs over the central aisle and projecting porch with balcony seating and sculptured columns. The animals carved on the porch plinth, the style of the door guardians flanking the doorways and the details of the tower suggest a date contemporary with the Pattadakal temples. Above the carved foliation on the interior beams and panels are friezes of mischievous dwarf imps and fabulous monster brackets.



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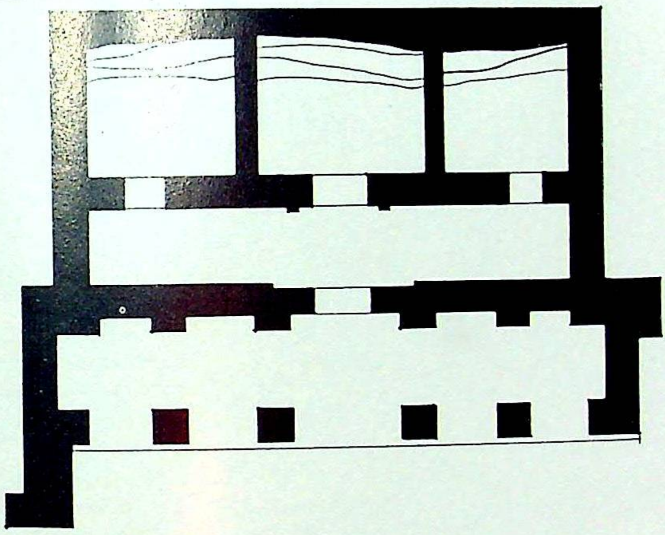

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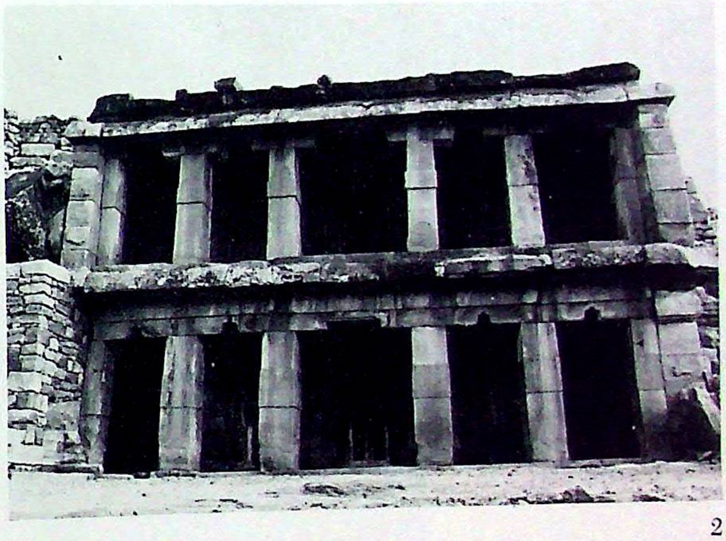

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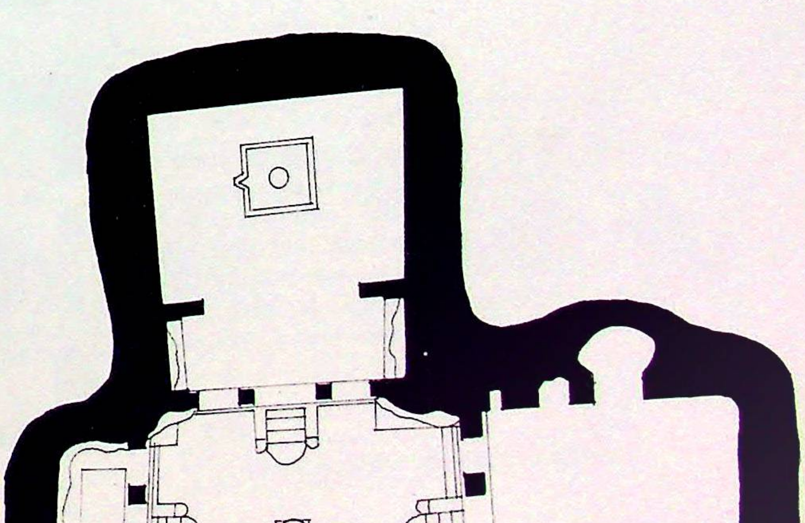
1. *Meguti temple: Originally a Jain temple, it is one of the few early dated shrines with an inscription from the time of Pulakeshin II of A.D. 634. The clarity of line of the structure and its composition on a rectangular plan make it a departure point of the new Deccan architecture.*
2. *The experiment in the two-storeyed temple was a unique adventure away from tradition.*

(a) Plan: Two-storeyed temple
(b) Plan: Brahmanical Cave — Ravana Phadi.



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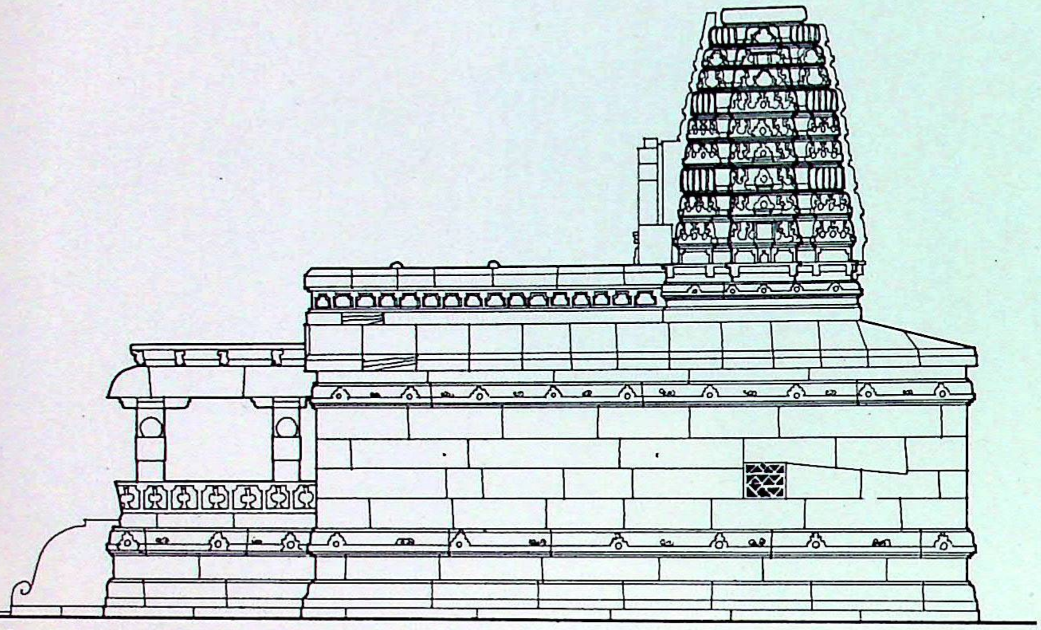

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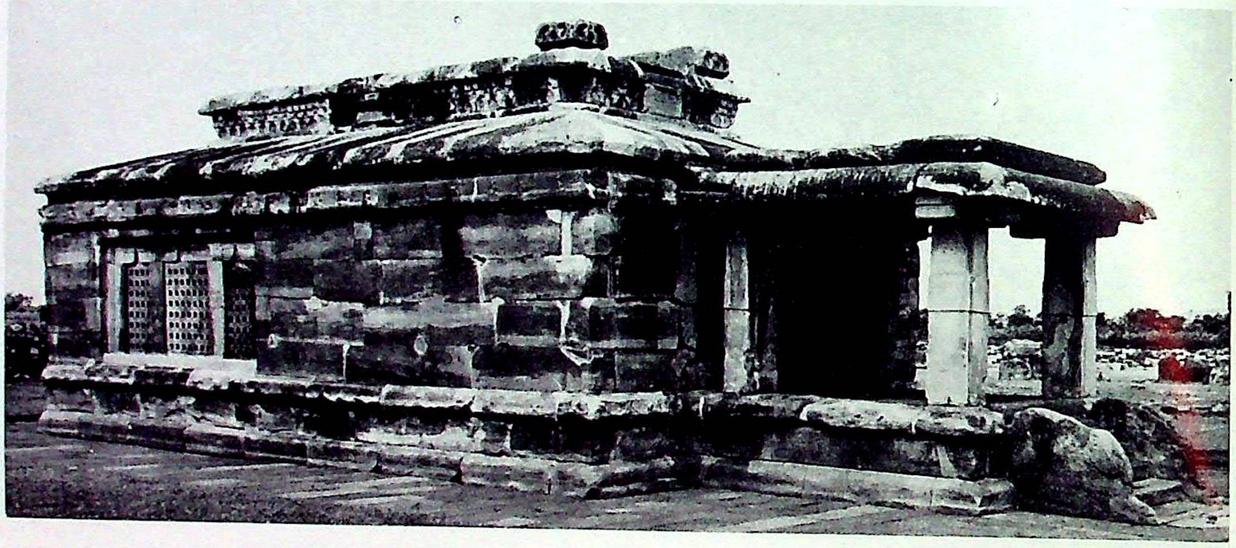
(c) The Hucchimalli temple shows the beginning of synthesis between the first few layers of the Dravida roof with the sikhara of the Nagara, north Indian style. This overture towards the future is dated A.D. 708, from the inscription of a grant made by Vijayaditya.



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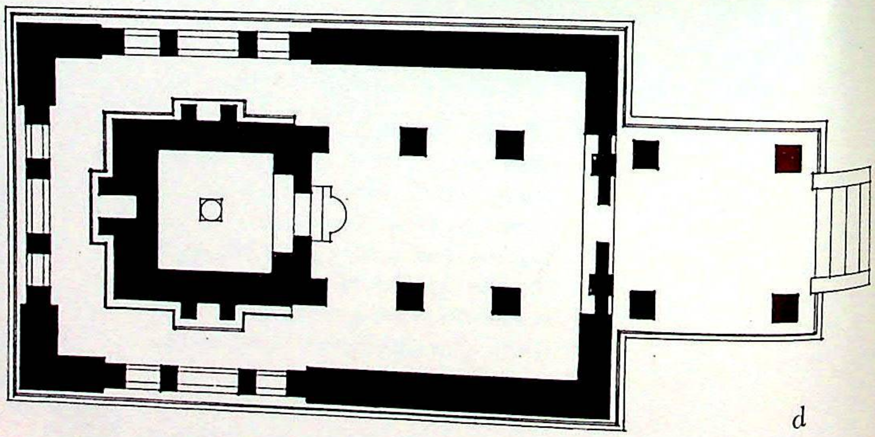
3. Chikki temple: The perforation of the walls of the Chikki temple for lighting the inner circumambulatory passage and decorations inside are important new features in temple building developed in Aihole.



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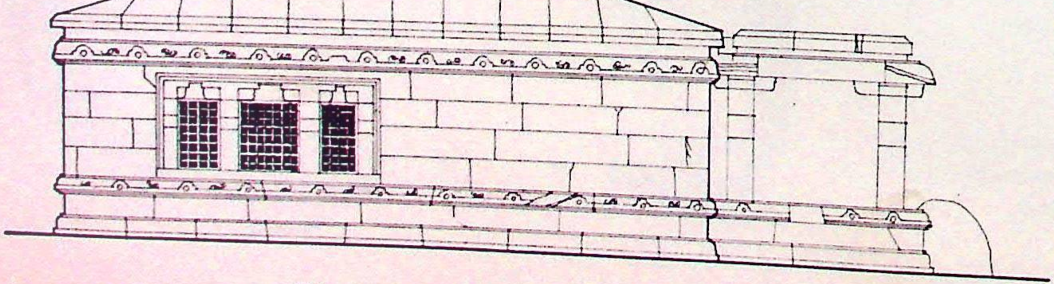

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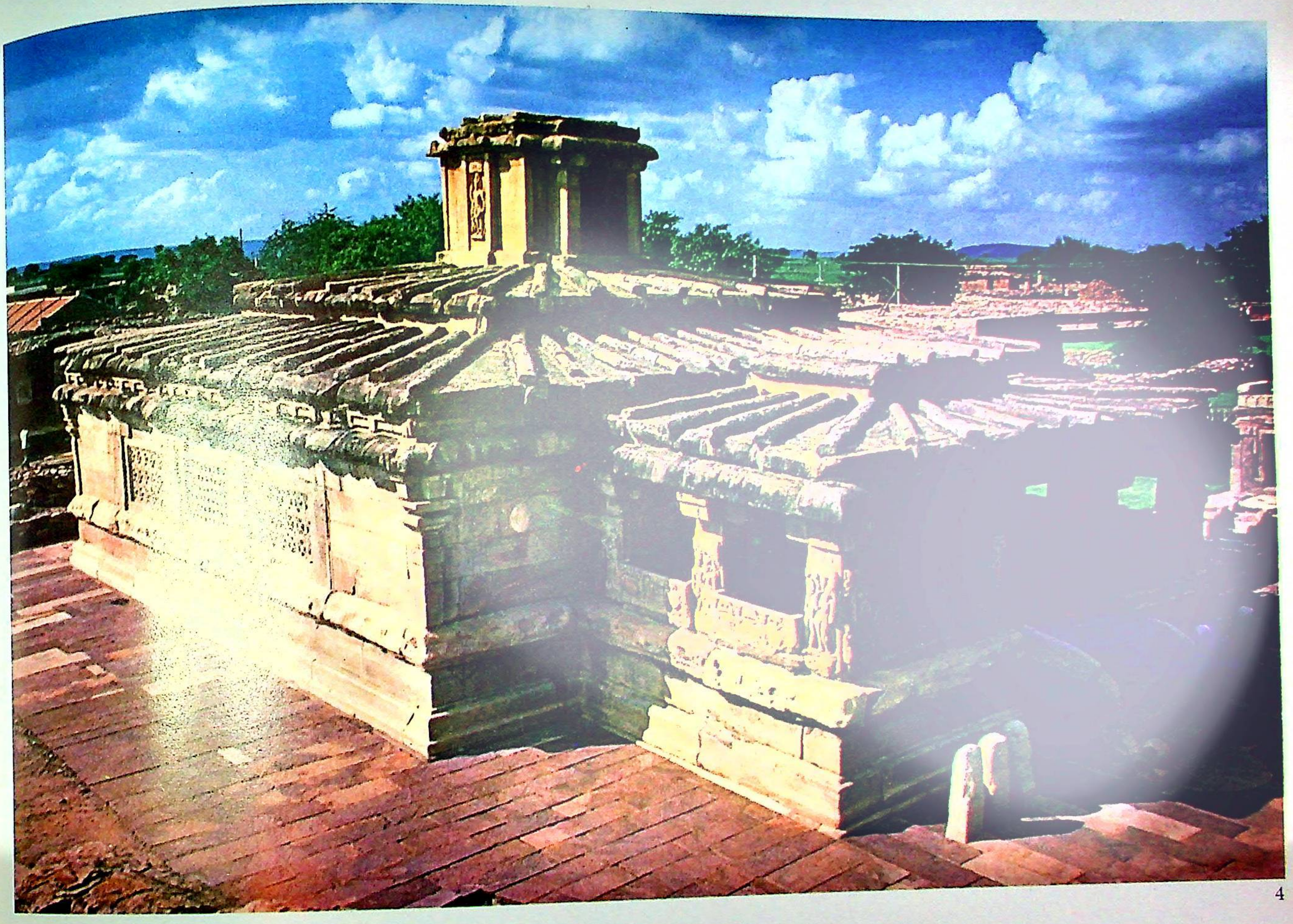
(d) Plan: Chikki temple
(e) Line drawing: Chikki temple



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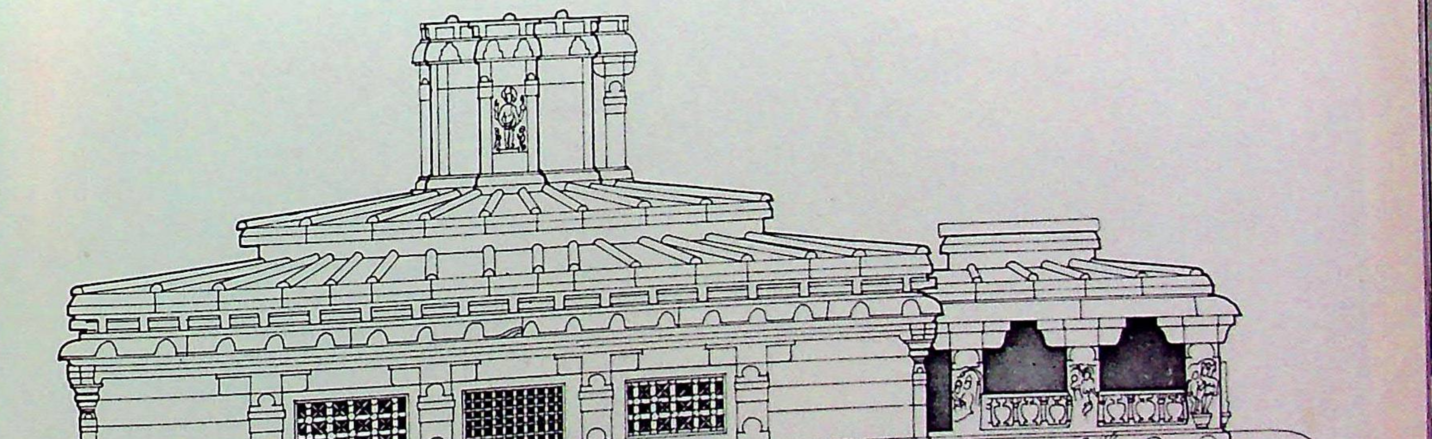

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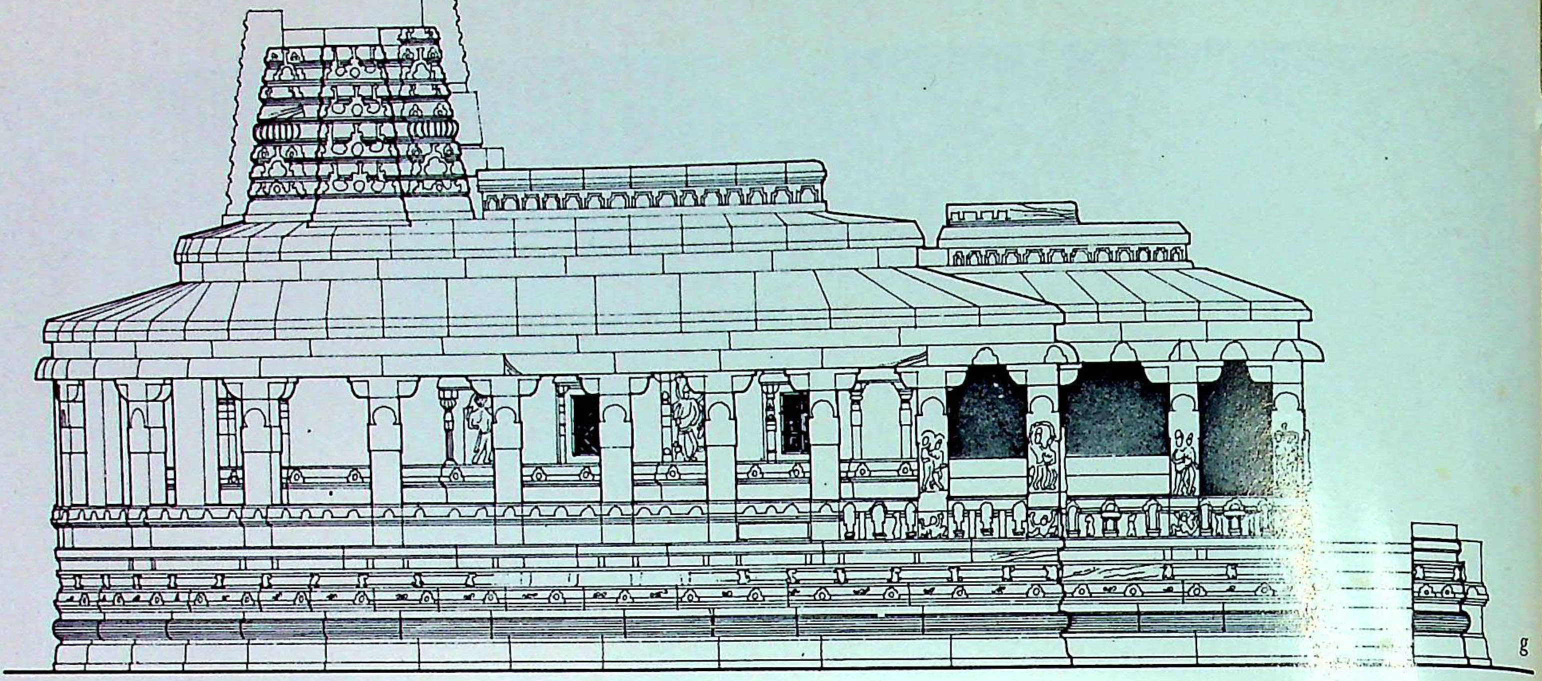
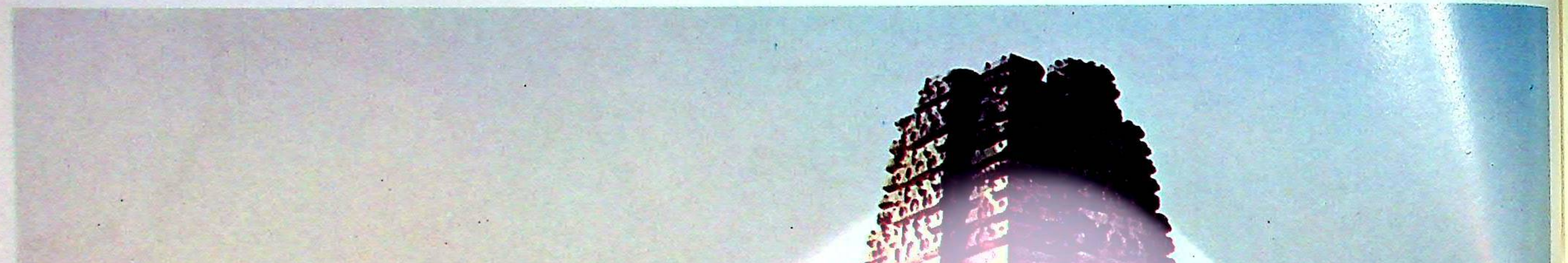
4. *Lad Khan: The Lad Khan temple is an elaborate construction, where the north Indian screens, the carvings on the porch and inside are incorporated into a Deccan-style house of two storeys. The second storey was used for the exaltation of the idol near to heaven. This shrine is a daring experiment carried out with tremendous virtuosity of skill in achieving harmony of proportions and the interweaving of architecture and sculpture.*

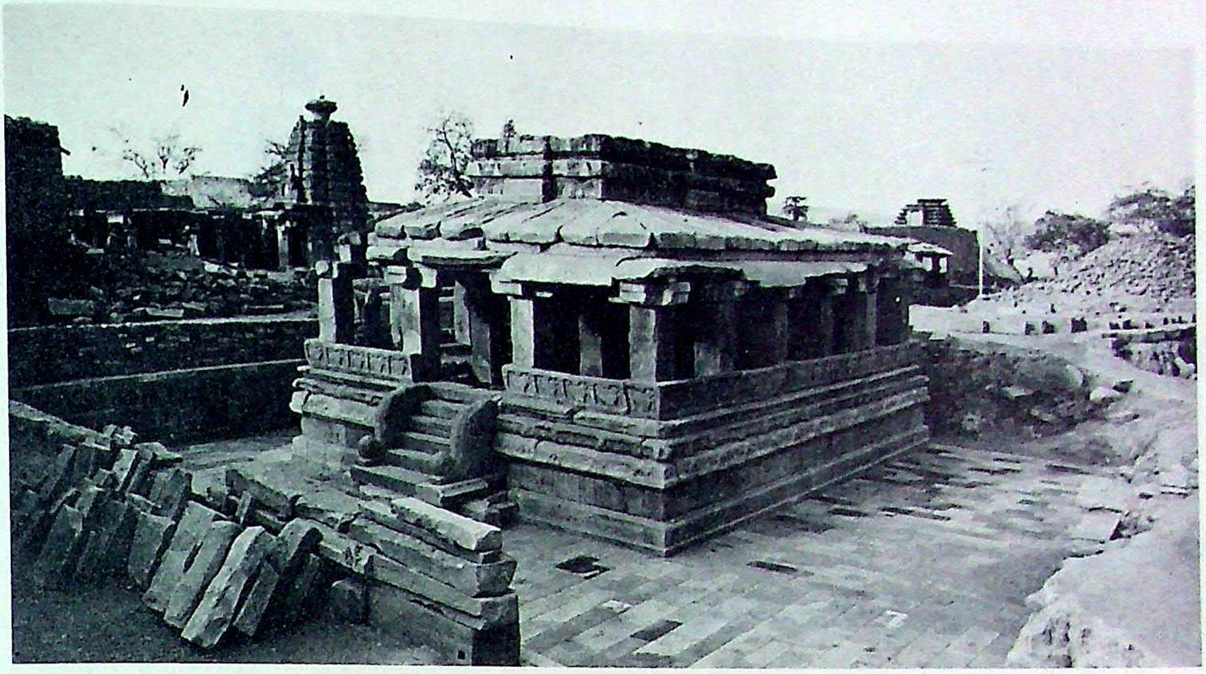
(f) Line drawing: Lad Khan temple





5. Durga temple: The boldest experiment in structural shrines in the Deccan was in the elaboration of the Durga temple. The Buddhist apsidal plan of Ter and Cezerla and the rock-cut chaitya hall were sought to be integrated with a northern sikhara above the three layers of the roof. The ambulatory passage as well as the outer columns and the porch area are decorated with carvings. These Chalukya reliefs are distinguished by clarity of line and controlled movement.

(g) Line drawing: Durga temple
(h) Line drawing: Gauda temple
(i) Line drawing: Kunti temple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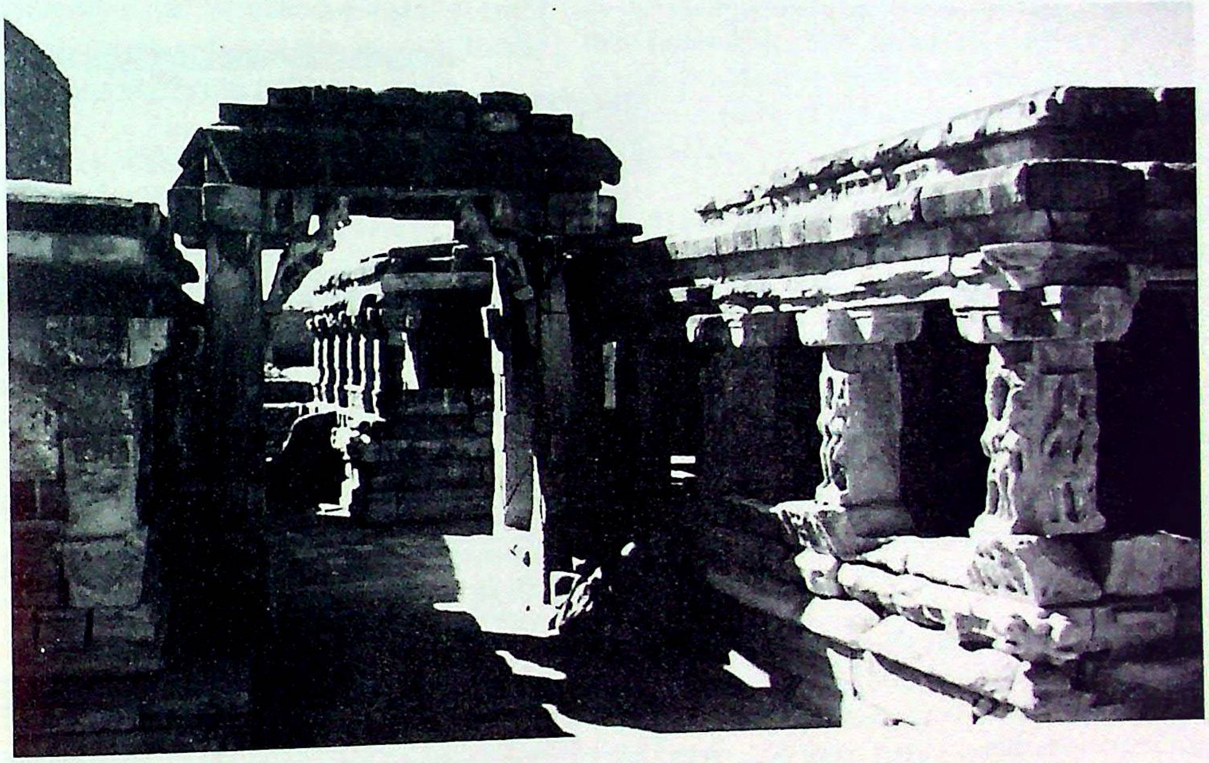
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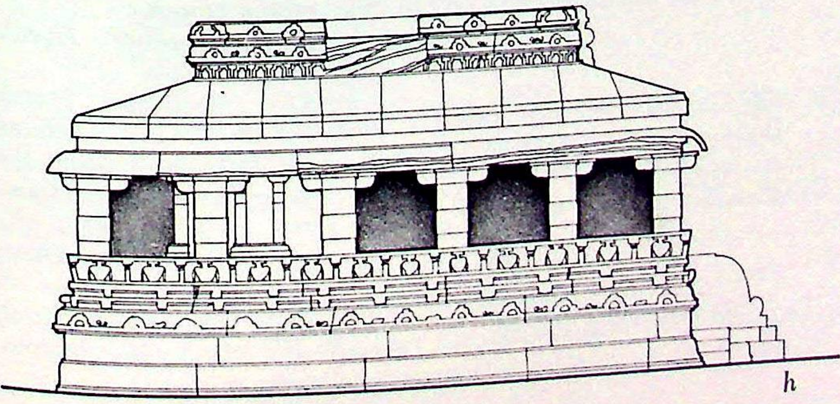
6. *Gauda temple: The Gauda temple construction, assimilating as it does its compact framework, with a small sanctuary by its back wall, seems also to be a seventh/eighth century development, built with great care for the relationship of its parts. The specious hall, with a slab roof, is placed on a massive plinth.*

7. *The four temples of the* Kunti *group also seem to be from the late seventh and early eighth centuries. They are similar in design to the Gauda, except for more elaborate carvings.*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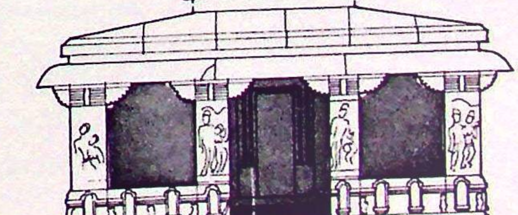
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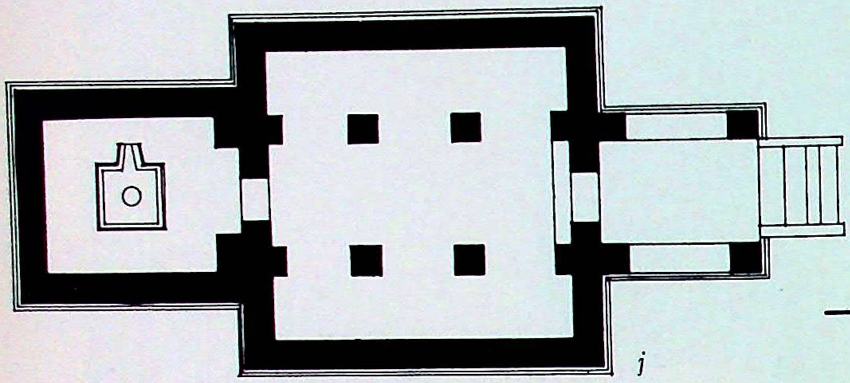

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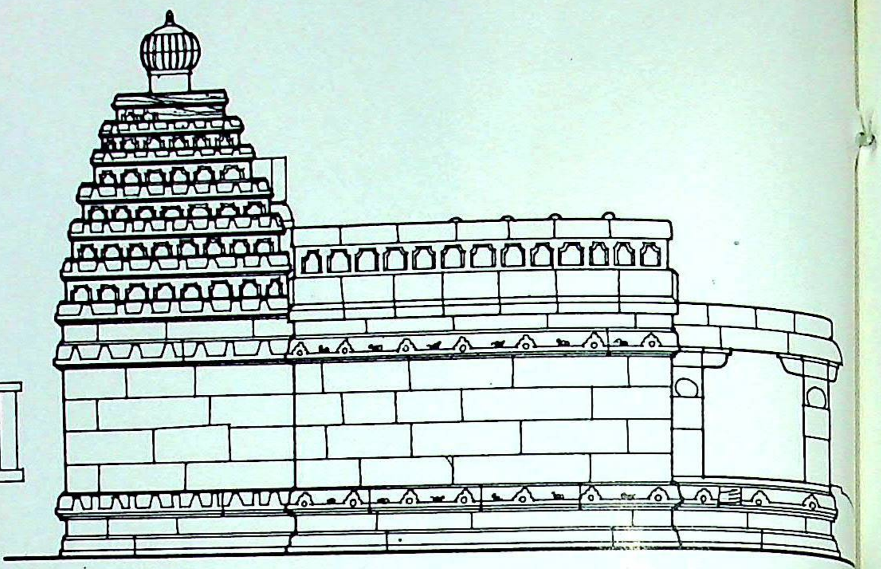

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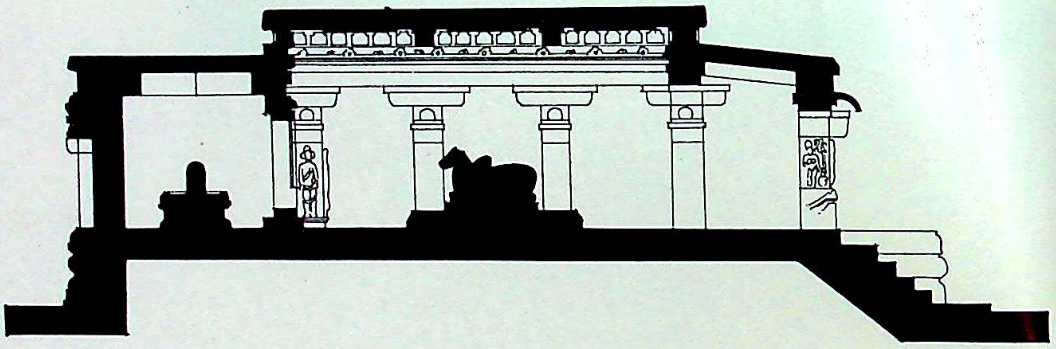

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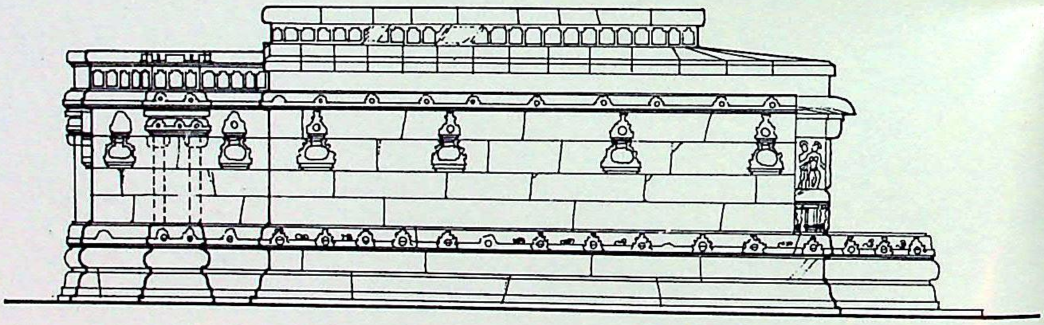

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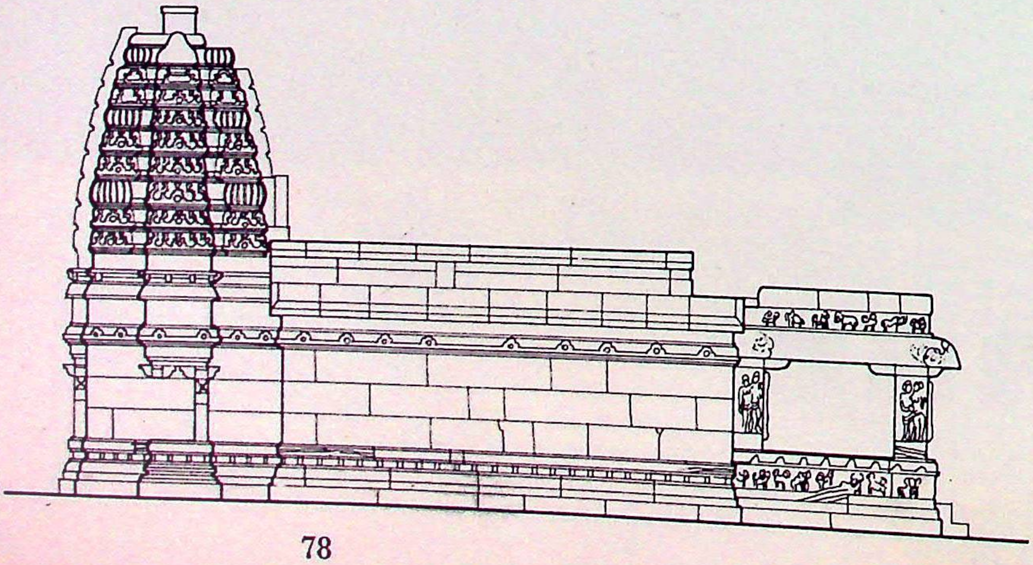

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(j) Plan: Mallikarjuna temple
(k) Line drawing: Mallikarjuna temple
(l) Side elevation: Hucchappayya-matha temple
(m) Line drawing: Hucchappayya-matha temple
(n) Line drawing: Hucchappayya temple. The Hucchappayya shrine goes further than other temples in the direction of fusing the southern layers of the roof with the northern sikhara. On the porch there are more carvings of lively dwarfs and monsters than in the Hucchappayyamatha temple.

Note on Sculpture

The Hindu temple was the body and soul of God.

The elaboration of a shrine, then, was intended to evoke the divine presence.

Thus, architecture had no meaning unless it could recreate the power and energies of a particular deity to whom the temple was dedicated.

We see this interweaving of architectural space with sculptured space in Aihole from the beginning of the scooped-out rock of the Meguti temple.

The sacred hill, housing the mysterious dwelling reveals, from the shadows, vital panels which might tantalize the worshippers and prepare their hearts for those inner tremors which were to transform the nerves and tendons into the tremblings that may precede visions.

The sculptured panel of Shiva dancing, right inside the holy sanctum, affords the shock of violence, which immediately suggests stirrings behind the image, as well as in the nerves of the spectator. The external rhythms are thus sought to be internalised.

The approach to the chisel in Aihole, is, therefore, towards expression of every stance of the gods so as to inspire the devotee to allow for inner experience through the impact of the outer image.

The Shiva-Parvati panel, with flying spirits at the top, stages the drama of blissful marriage, as against the torment of the ascetic on the side, and is here refined to express poise.

In the flying figures panel, on the ceiling, the style becomes more deliberately ornate and decorative, and the tenderness of the figures is lyrical.

The skill of the carving of the females in the relief on the walls displays the genius of the sculptors for variegating each stance in relation to the other to achieve ecstasy through witnessing the dance of Shiva. Some of the middle figures even emulate dance movements. The onlookers are persuaded to ally themselves with the worshipful mood.

In the adumbration of terror, through the Mahishasuramardinis, the different carvers evoked terrible beauties, again to shock the placid pilgrim into the rapture of the quelling of evil forces by the goddess.

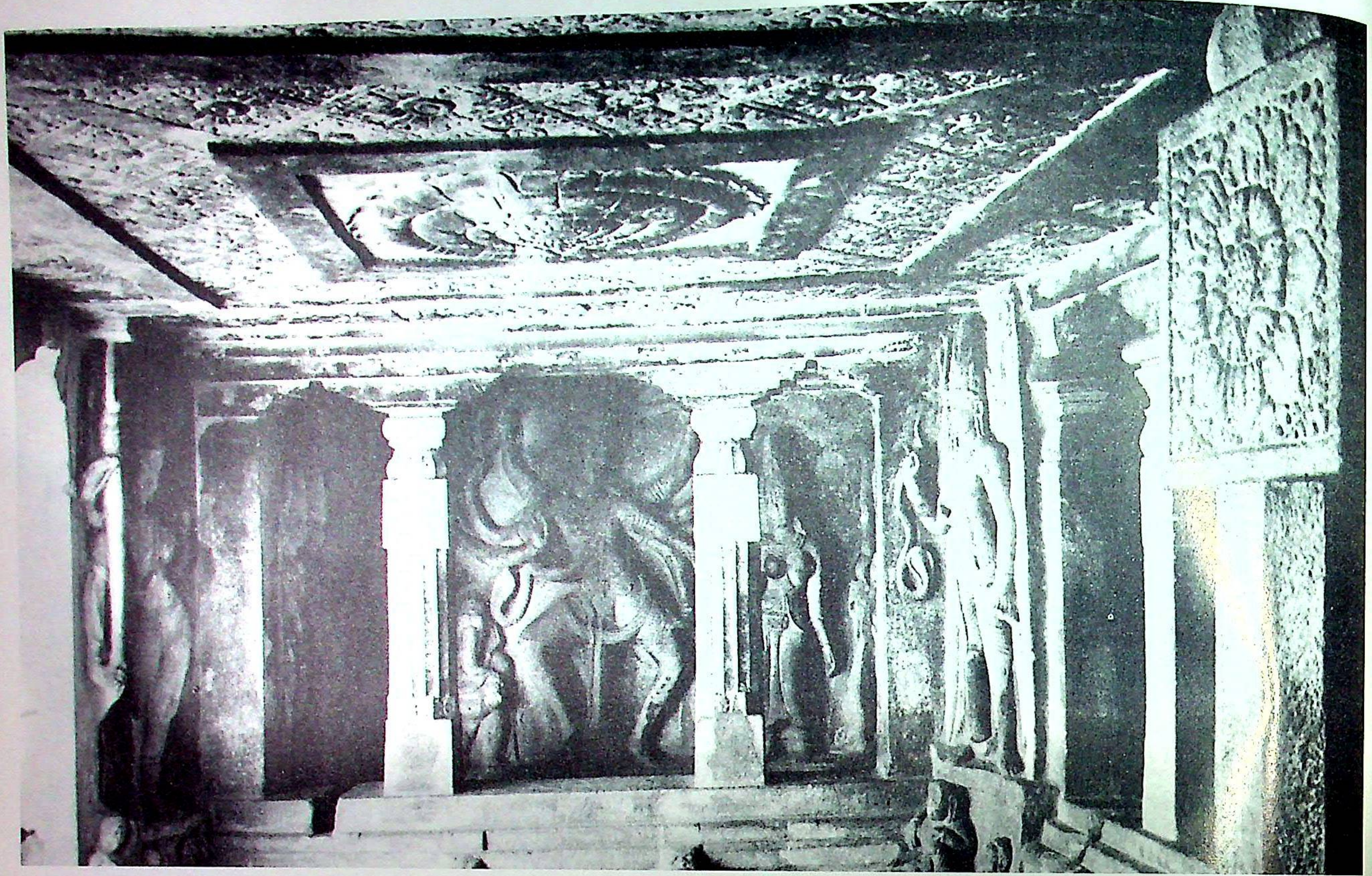
The Shiva standing benignly by the Nandi is perhaps one of the earliest successors of the Chalukya emergence in creative expression. The calm face of the god blossoms delicately from the foliage of arms, necklaces and the curved snake, the god resting tenderly on his *vahana*. The interpenetration of energies of the arms, suggesting the essential dynamic of this god, flows into the flowering personality, so that the worshipper grows into the fullness of Shiva's restrained power in himself.

The amorous couple with the strong man caressing the woman poised between modest withdrawal and surrender, is the beginning of the stance of lovers who might utter, if they could, sweet nothings in the mid-day air.

The Narasimha image achieves its power by the massiveness of the carving of the head, the strong arms and the triumphant posture. Here the worshipper is stilled and held back, at the redirecting of the immense power of the god before the upturned glance.

The development of the carving of relief sculpture in Aihole shows an attitude of daring experimentalism in the creation of different moods. The craftsmen—or the guild involved in the creations—seem to have been aware of the other skill. There is an imitationism. Each image is a hard one reality approximating to the myth, so that worshippers may take refuge within them and begin to be.

M.R.A.



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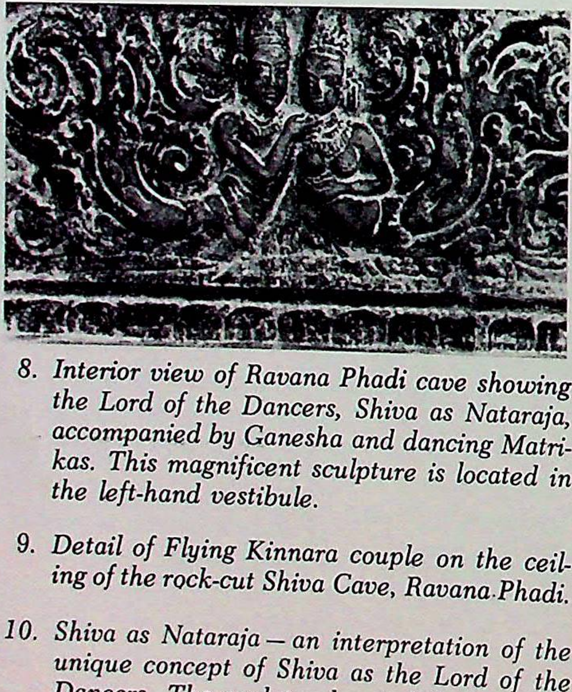

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8. *Interior view of Ravana Phadi cave showing the Lord of the Dancers, Shiva as Nataraja, accompanied by Ganesha and dancing Matrikas. This magnificent sculpture is located in the left-hand vestibule.*

9. *Detail of Flying Kinnara couple on the ceiling of the rock-cut Shiva Cave, Ravana Phadi.*

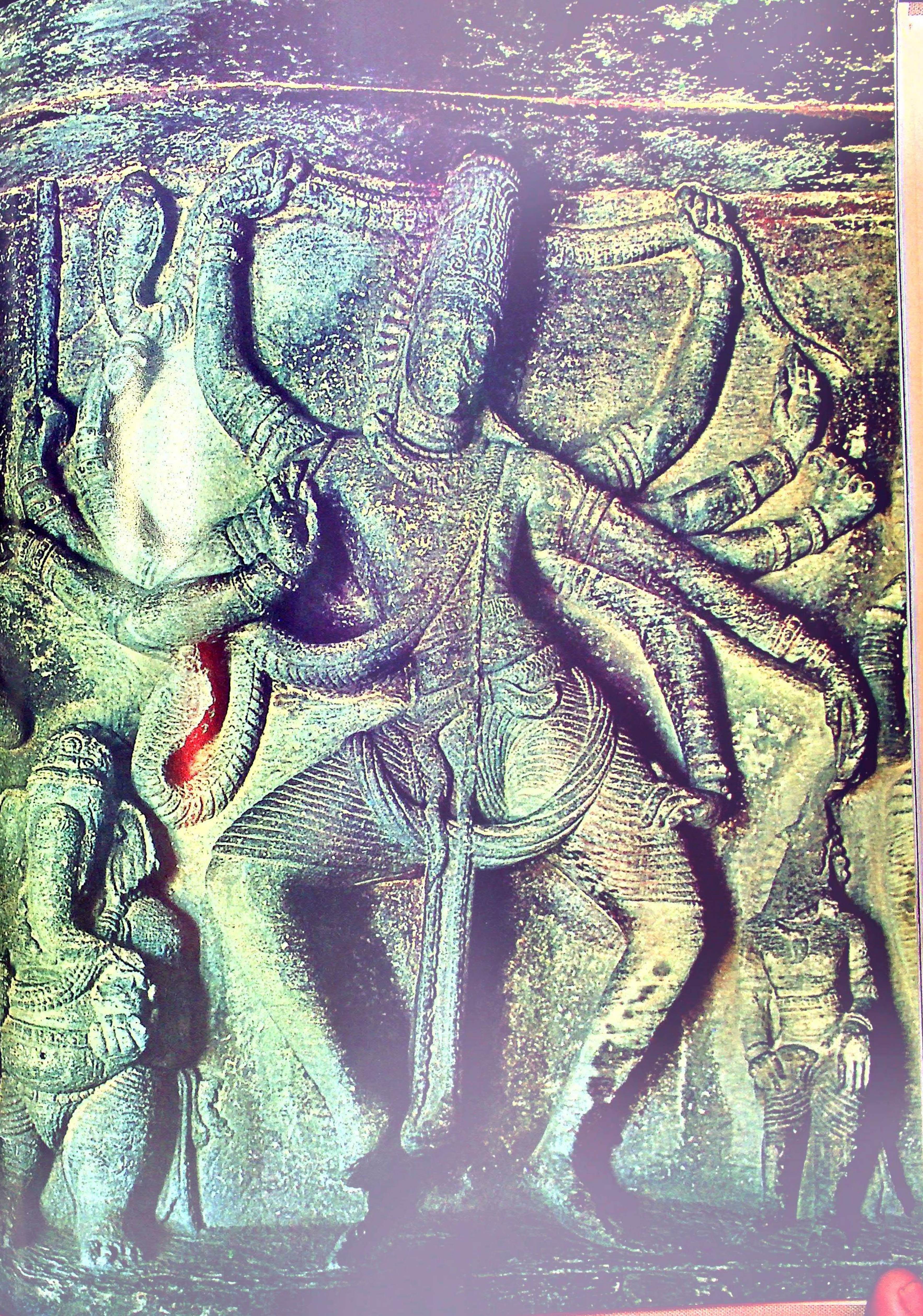
10. *Shiva as Nataraja — an interpretation of the unique concept of Shiva as the Lord of the Dancers. The sculptor has imbibed rhythm and motion, so that the figure seems about to free itself from the cave wall. Noteworthy is the* lalita *composition of the eight-armed representation dancing on his raised feet and not on Apasmara. The upper hands hold out the snake giving compositional value to the movement. Ravana Phadi Cave, sixth century A.D.*

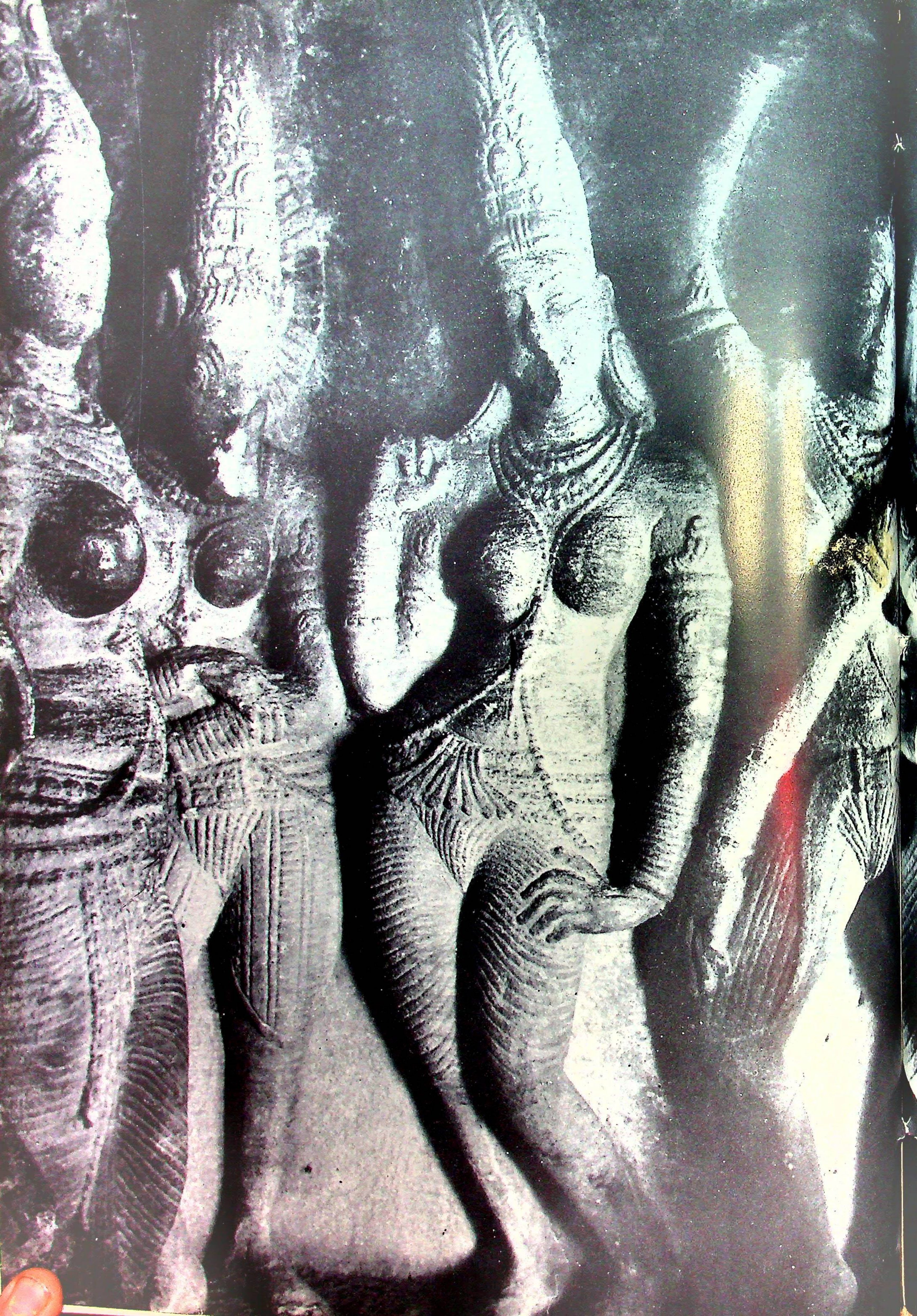
11,12. *Flanking Shiva are the dancing Matrikas who in accompaniment with Lord Shiva, sway charmingly to the heavenly music. The masculine vigour of Shiva's dance is here offset by the beautiful interpretive measure of feminine coyness and gentle movement which the sculptor has sought to express.*

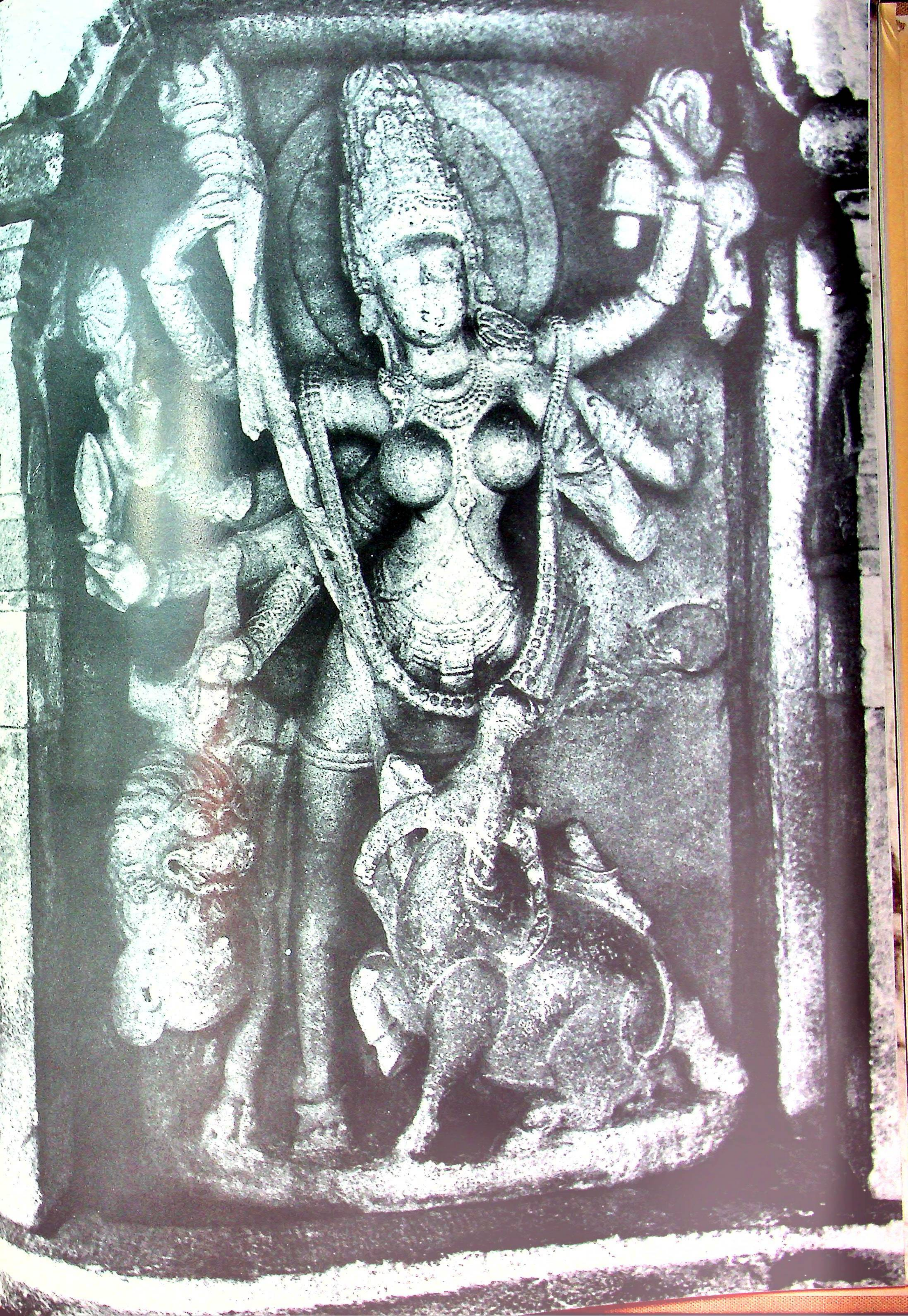
13. *Mahishasuramardini (Durga destroying the demon Mahisha) from the Ravana Phadi Cave. Durga is vigorously overpowering the demon with her* trisula. *This Mahisha panel continues the same dramatic style of sculptural value to be found in all the sculptures in the Ravana Phadi.*

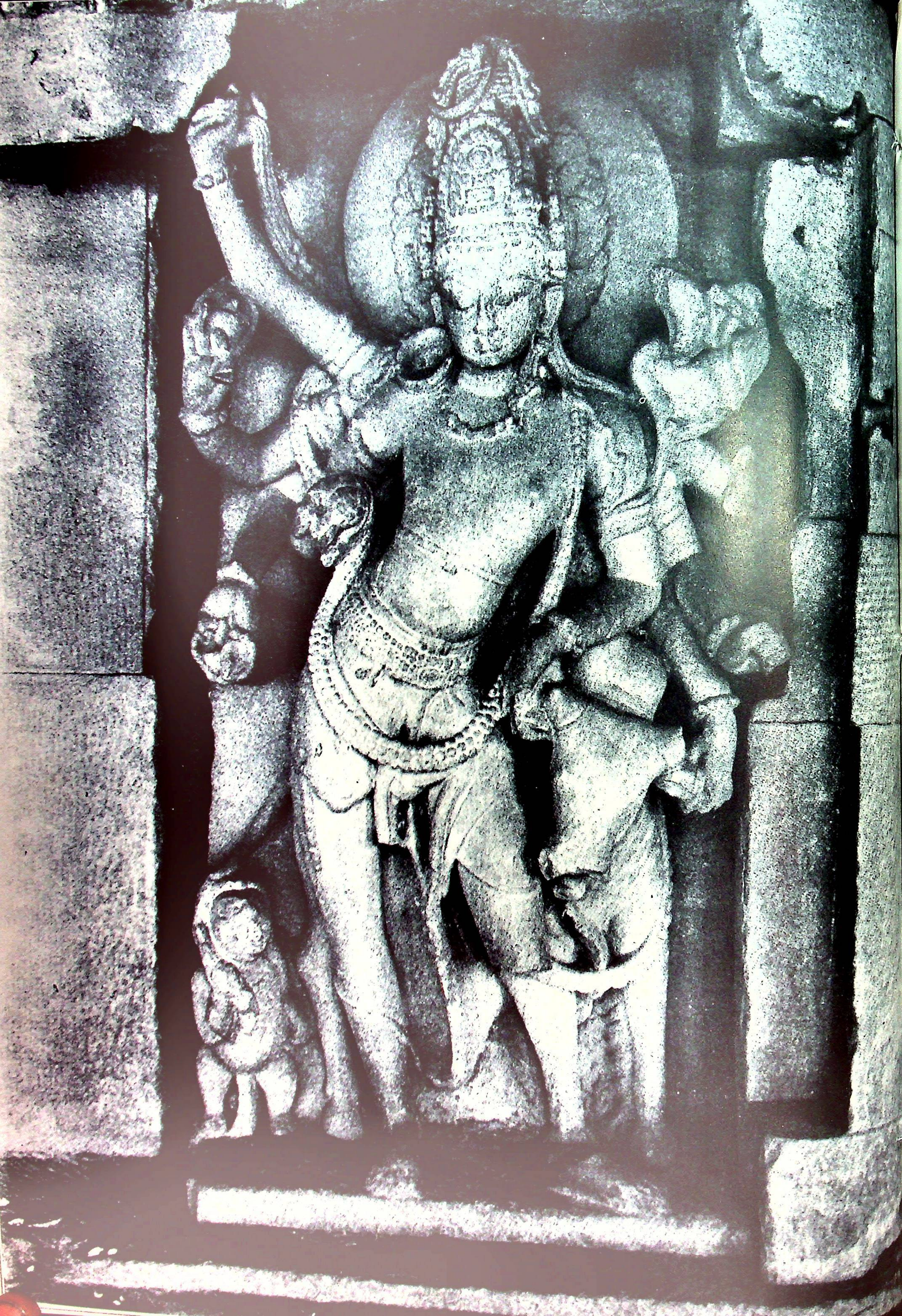
14. *Mahishasuramardini from the Durga temple is one of the many superb panels in the outer* pradakshinapatha.

15. *Shiva as Vrishabhavahana, image on the outer wall of the enclosed* pradakshinapatha *of the semi-circular end of the* garbhagrha *of the Durga temple.*



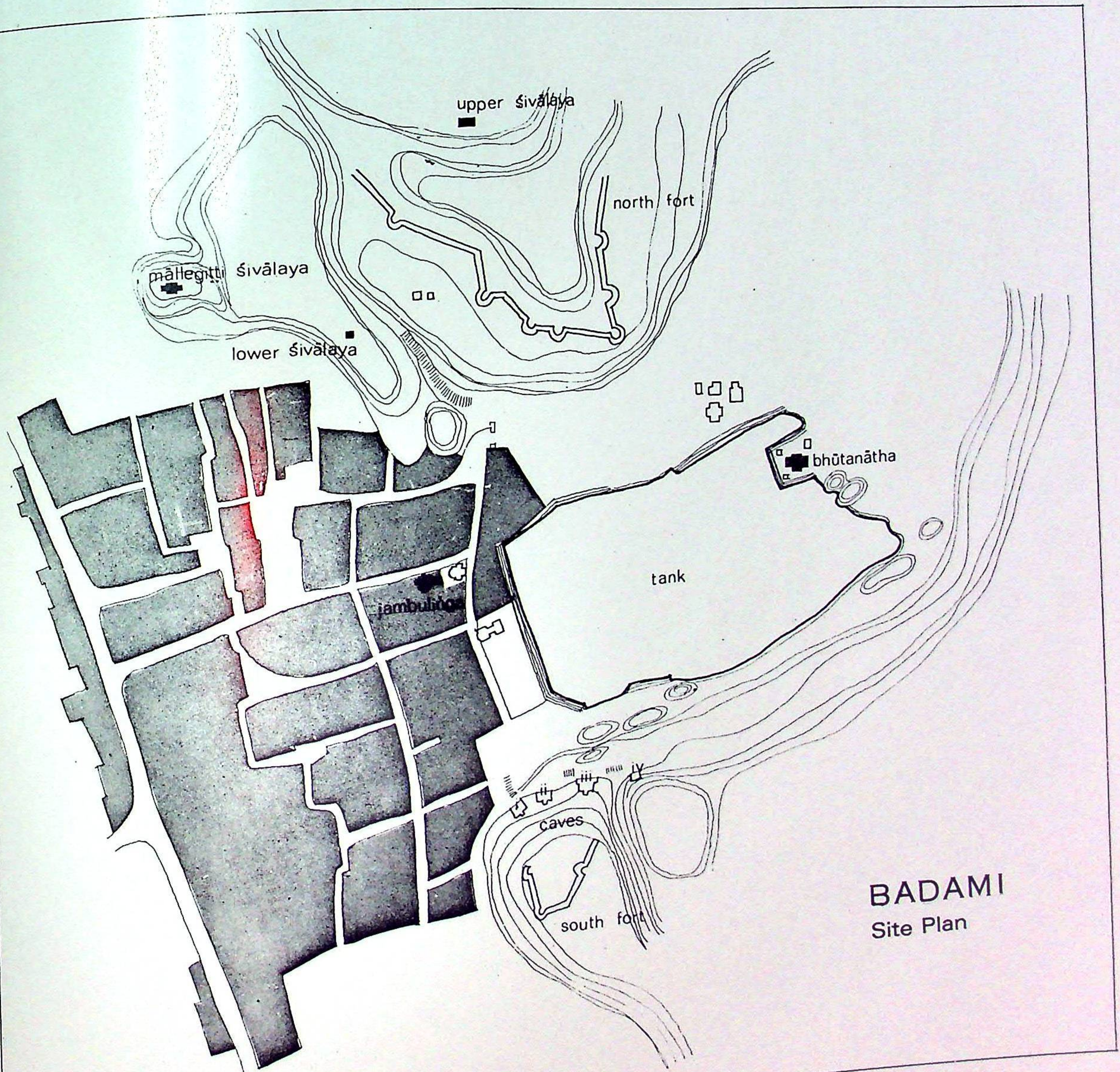






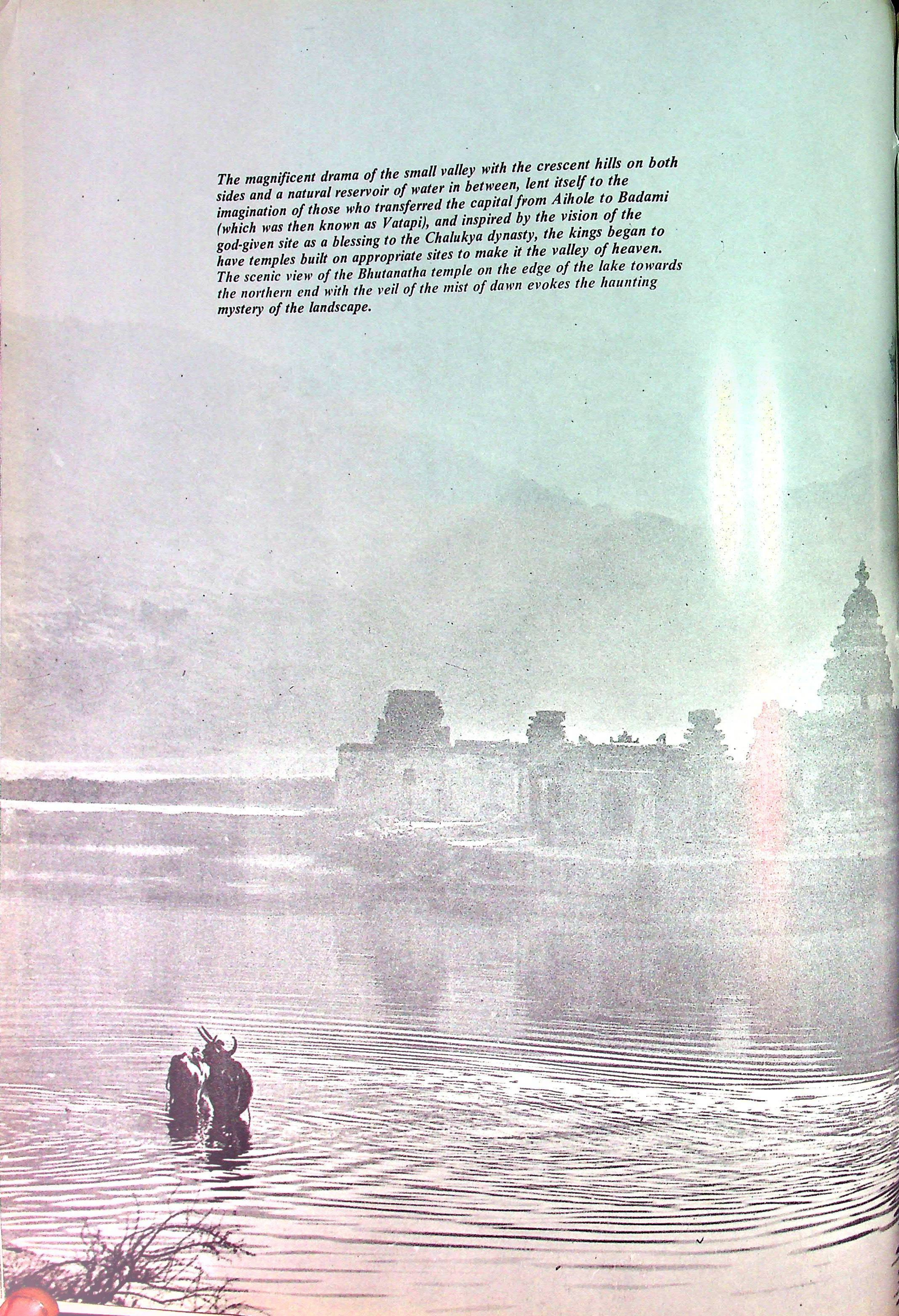
Badami

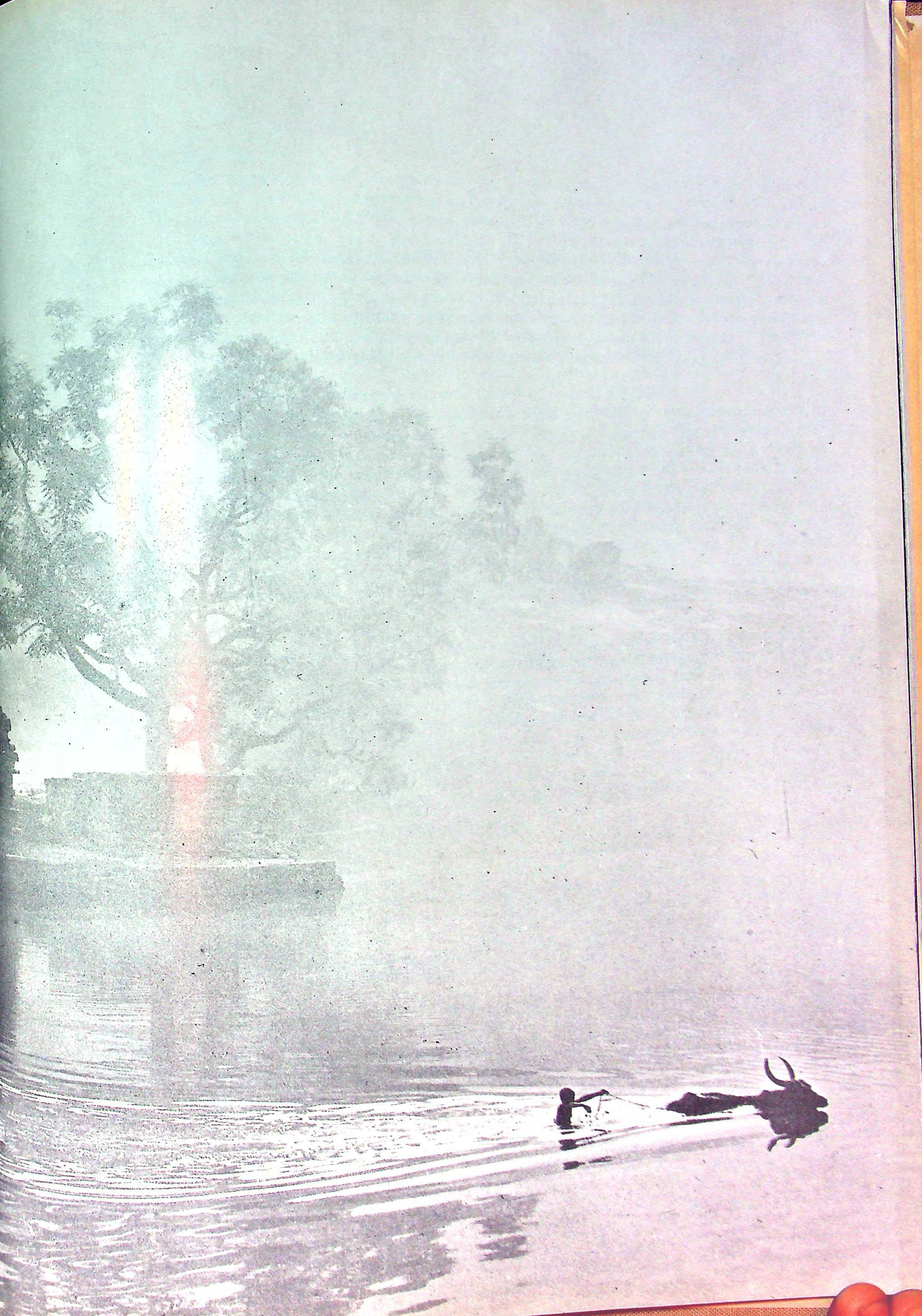
The modern village of Badami is identified with ancient Vatapi established by Pulakeshin I in the middle of the sixth century. It is likely that the walls thrown across the gap between the two gigantic outcrops of red sandstone, creating an artificial tank, date from the earliest occupation of the site by the Chalukyas in the middle of the sixth century and that the town quickly grew up to the west of the tank. The open pavilions on the north fort hill may have been associated with courtly rituals of these early rulers but their precise function is not known. Four excavations in the cliffs beneath the south fort constitute one of the most important series of rock-cut temples in the Deccan. They are numbered along an ascending staircase: the


upper śivālaya
north fort
mālegitti śivālaya
lower śivālaya
bhūtanātha
tank
jambulinga
i
ii
iii
iv
caves
south fort

BADAMI
Site Plan

The magnificent drama of the small valley with the crescent hills on both sides and a natural reservoir of water in between, lent itself to the imagination of those who transferred the capital from Aihole to Badami (which was then known as Vatapi), and inspired by the vision of the god-given site as a blessing to the Chalukya dynasty, the kings began to have temples built on appropriate sites to make it the valley of heaven. The scenic view of the Bhutanatha temple on the edge of the lake towards the northern end with the veil of the mist of dawn evokes the haunting mystery of the landscape.





lowest (I) being dedicated to Shiva, the next two (II and III) are Vishnu temples and the highest (IV) is Jain. Between Caves II and III a roughly excavated chamber has a figure (Buddhist ?) carved on the wall. Cave III was consecrated in 578 during the reign of Kirtivarman I. The structure belonging to the Early Western Chalukya period are the three Shivalaya temples (Upper, Lower and Malegitti) in the north fort hill, the dated Jambulinga temple, now largely concealed behind modern dwellings in the town, and the Bhutanatha temple standing at the eastern end of the tank as part of a group of later structures. On some of the large boulders behind the Bhutanatha temple are carvings of Hindu divinities. Other temples, walls, gateways and fortifications in the village and to north of the tank belong mostly to later periods.

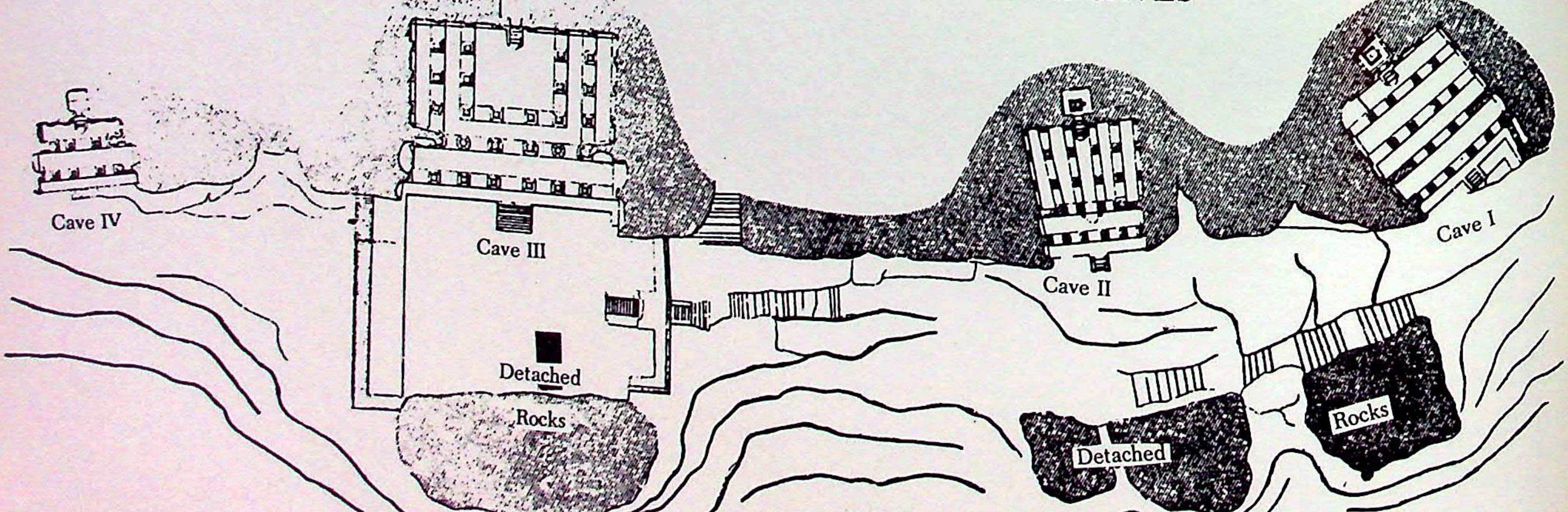
Cave I

This example, possibly the earliest of the series, presents the basic scheme of the Badami cave-temples. A small cell in the back wall is approached through a hall divided by columns, raised floor strips and 'beams' into transverse aisles. The outer aisle is treated as an open porch, divided from the other aisles by a triple entrance created by columns with fluted 'cushion' capitals. Carved panels at the ends of the outer aisle, also within and adjacent to the minor shrine to the right of the entrance, clearly proclaim the Shaiva dedication of the temple. Ceiling panels are found in the outer aisle. The columns are carved with intricately incised medallions and jewelled garlands, unified by a flowing foliation.

Cave II

In many ways this temple repeats the scheme of Cave I; however, the internal arrangement of the hall creates a stronger sweep towards the recessed sanctuary at the rear. Images of Vishnu are carved at the ends of the outer aisle and the verandah created by the overhang of the sheer cliff face. The ceiling panels in the outer aisle incorporate swastika and fish-wheel motifs.

GENERAL PLAN OF BADAMI CAVES



Cave III

The dramatic increase in the scale of the hall (from four to six columns width) and in the size of the sculpture panels suggests that this cave-temple was an undertaking of major significance: the dated inscription indicates a royal foundation. In all its details, from the principal sculptures to the plinth reliefs and column brackets, this cave-temple is decorated with the most refined carving. The depictions of Vishnu's incarnations are framed by exquisitely moulded columns of different types, some with unusually faceted shafts. The brackets of the outer columns are fashioned in the semblance of fabulous animals or amorous couples beneath trees. On the inside of the overhanging eave is a fresco fragment of a courtly scene, almost the only evidence of painting from early Western Chalukya times. The regents of the directions of space arranged around sacred images form ceiling medallions in the outer aisle.

Upper Shivalaya Temple

Though now partly ruined, this temple is remarkable for its imposing super-structure which, due to the prominent situation of the building, effectively dominates the town beneath. The temple originally incorporated a square sanctuary, ambulatory passageway on three sides and columned hall in a rectangle of walls. There is a small porch to the east. In many respects the temple displays early evidence of the southern style. The walls are rhythmically divided by pilasters and surmounted by a parapet. The tower above the sanctuary reproduces some of these features and is crowned by a large square-to-dome roof form. Of considerable interest are the carved plinth reliefs and wall panels illustrating Krishna scenes, an early appearance of this theme in Indian temple art. The friezes of imps on the temple base are copies of those in the cave-temples. The temple possibly belongs to the early part of the seventh century.

Malegitti Shivalaya Temple

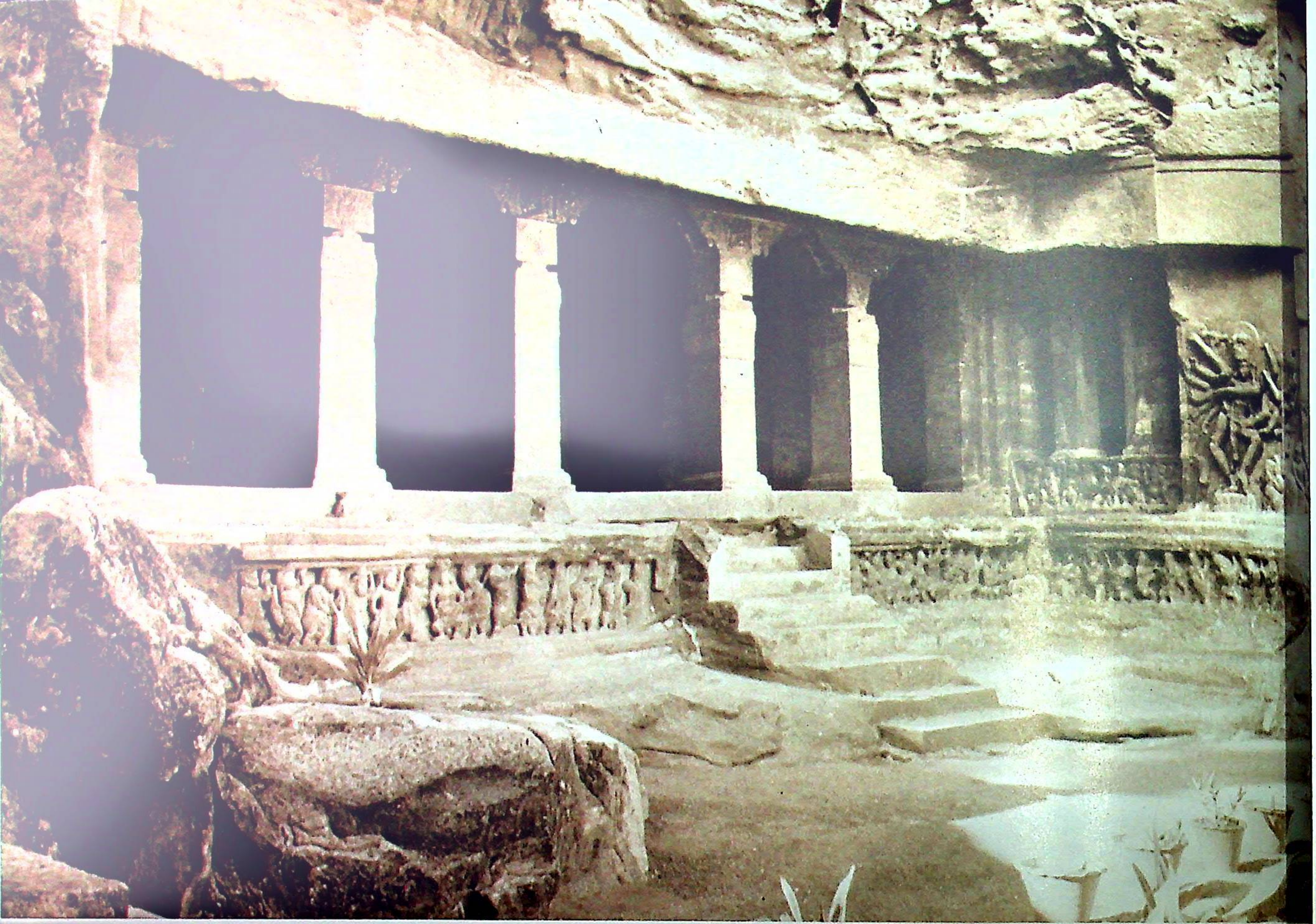
Perched dramatically on a gigantic sandstone boulder this temple presents a more compact and harmoniously proportioned elevation than the Upper Shivalaya temple, thus suggesting a later date. There is no ambulatory passageway, the temple being clearly divided into three units – sanctuary, square-columned hall and entrance porch. The richly carved base incorporates friezes of imps and mythical animals, both characteristics of the southern style. The external pilastered walls of the hall have sculpture panels on projections framing pierced stone windows in recesses, the latter surmounted by foliated aquatic monsters. Above the parapet rises the superstructure of the octagon-to-dome form, comparable to that of the nearby ruined Lower Shivalaya temple and other examples at Mahakuta (Mahakuteshvara and Mallikarjuna temples) and Nagral.

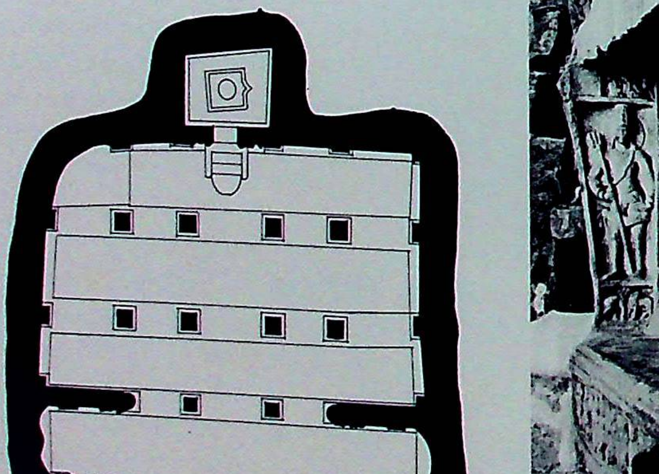
Bhutanatha Temple

In its basic layout, this building is a copy of Malegitti Shivalaya temple though the superstructure here is of the square-to-dome form. Almost no carved decoration is preserved as the column sculptures were mutilated at a later date, perhaps at the same time when the porch with sloping angular eave was added (not shown on the drawing) concealing the original porched entrance to the temple facing the tank. The well-defined parapet, emphasising the empty niches in the walls beneath, suggests an early sixth century date for this temple.

Jambulinga Temple

Almost entirely hidden behind the dwellings built up to its walls, this temple has suffered from disfiguring additions, especially upon the roof where a brick tower of the Vijayanagara period is found. Other than the Meguti temple at Aihole this is the only Early Western Chalukya temple provided with a precise date: according to the inscription the gods Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha (Shiva) were installed in 699. This accords with the unusual arrangement of three sanctuaries opening off a large columned hall. In many of its features this building is influenced by the nearby cave-temples – particularly in the forms of the columns, the triple entrance between the porch and hall, the elaborately carved ceiling panels and the absence of a coherent external elevation.





(a) Plan: Cave I

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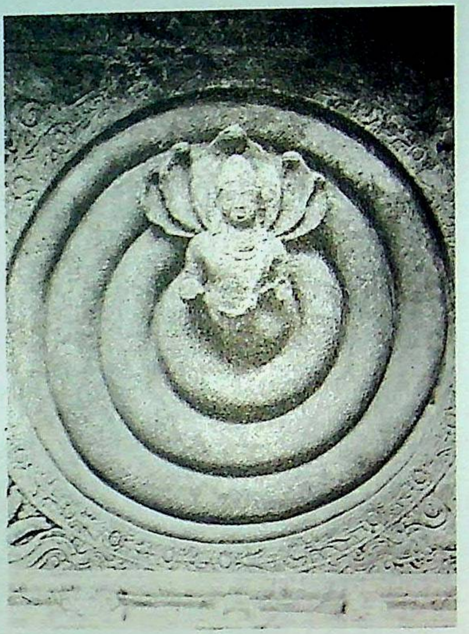

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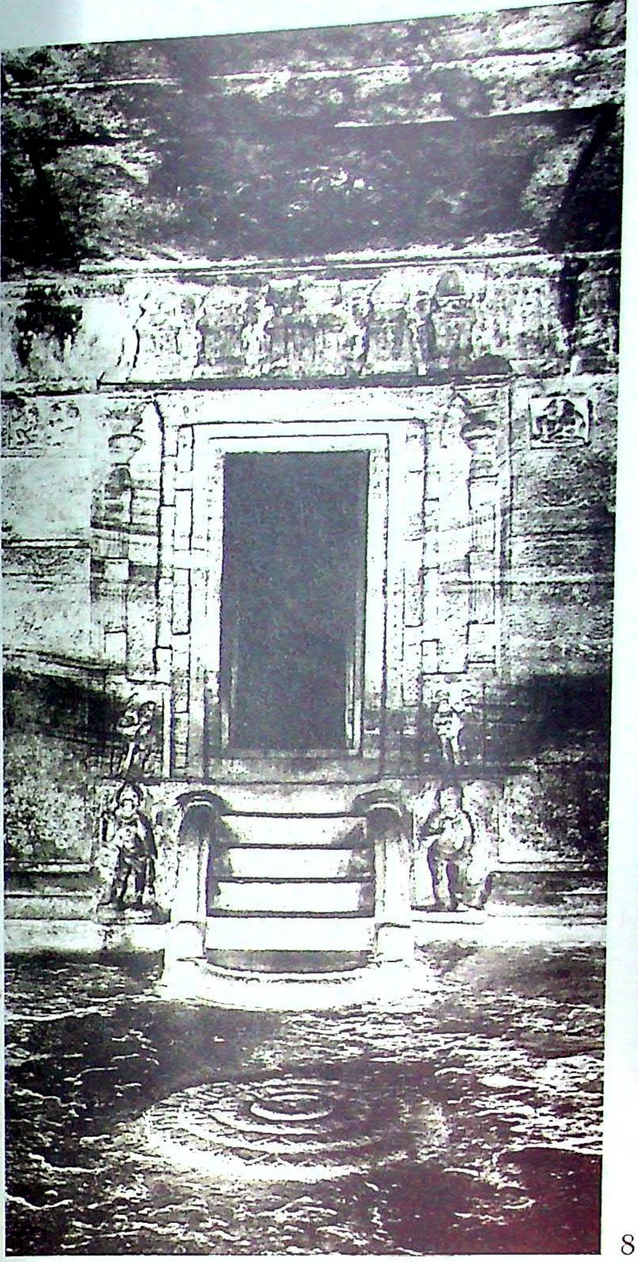

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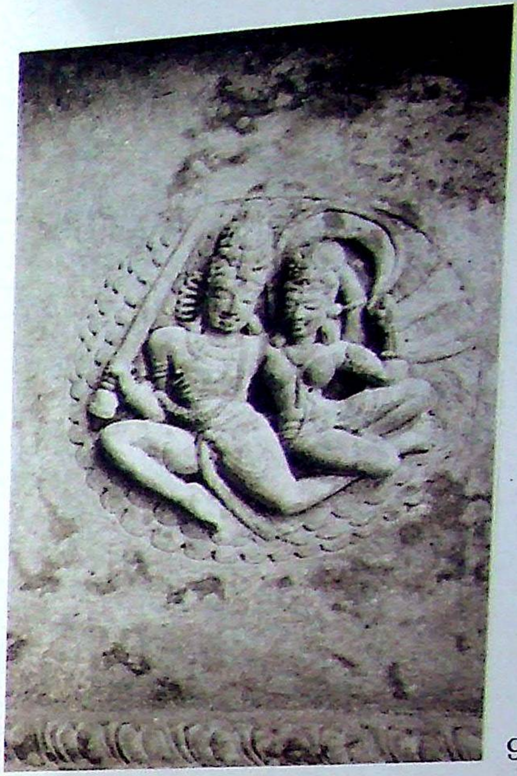

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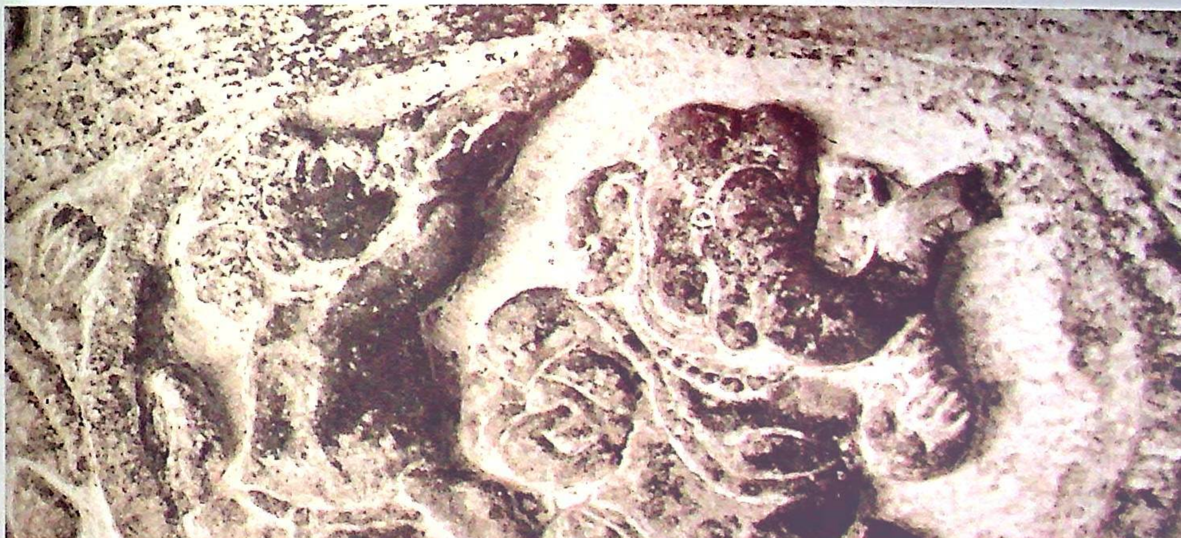

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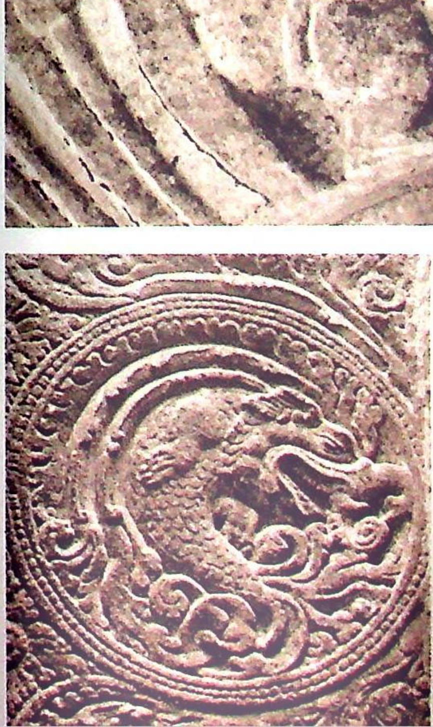
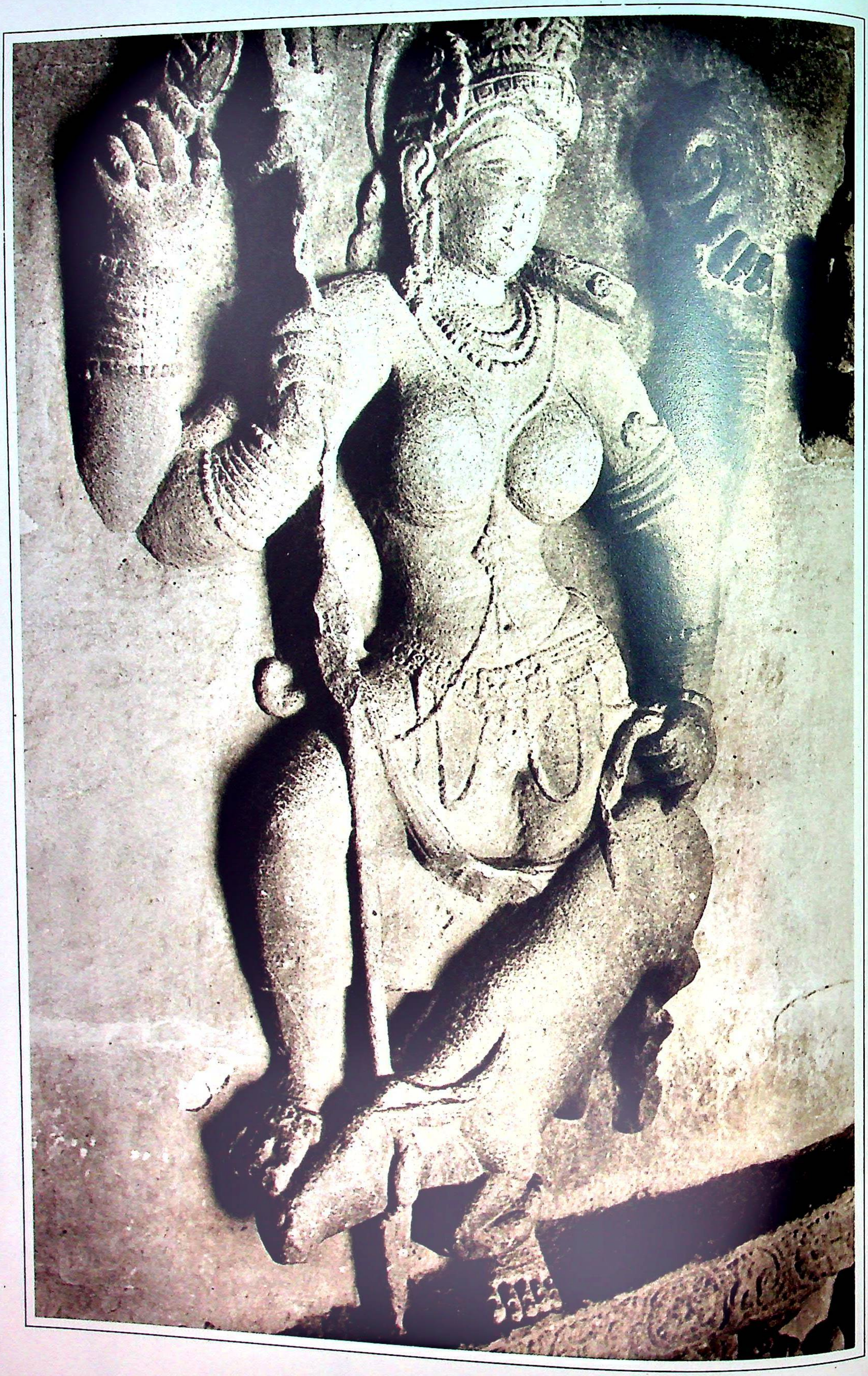


7. *Naga ceiling panel, Cave I*
8. *Shrine doorway, Cave III*
9. *Flying figures, Cave I*
10. *A unique Ganesha, Cave III*
11. *Makara in medallion carving on pillar, Cave III*



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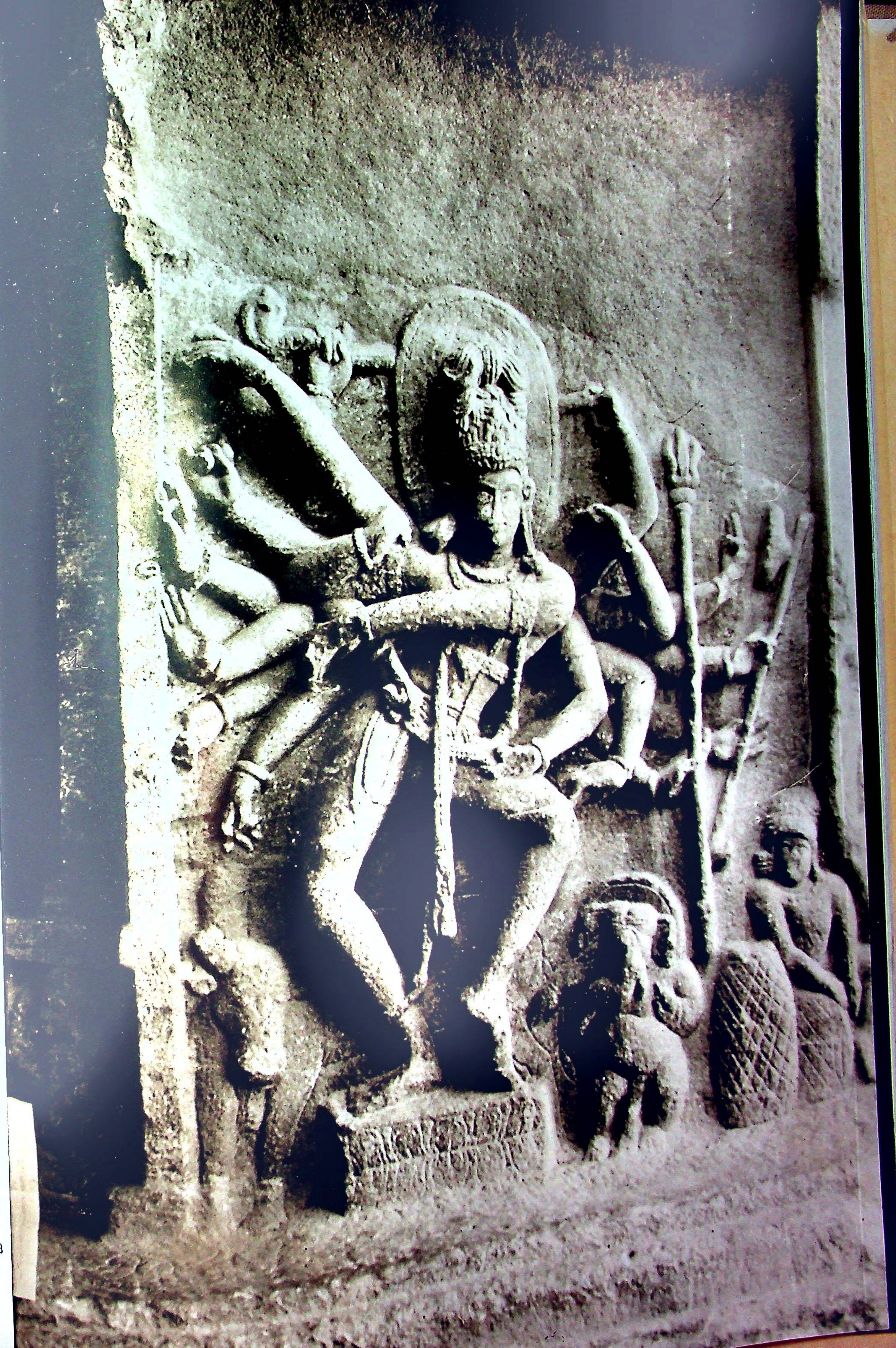
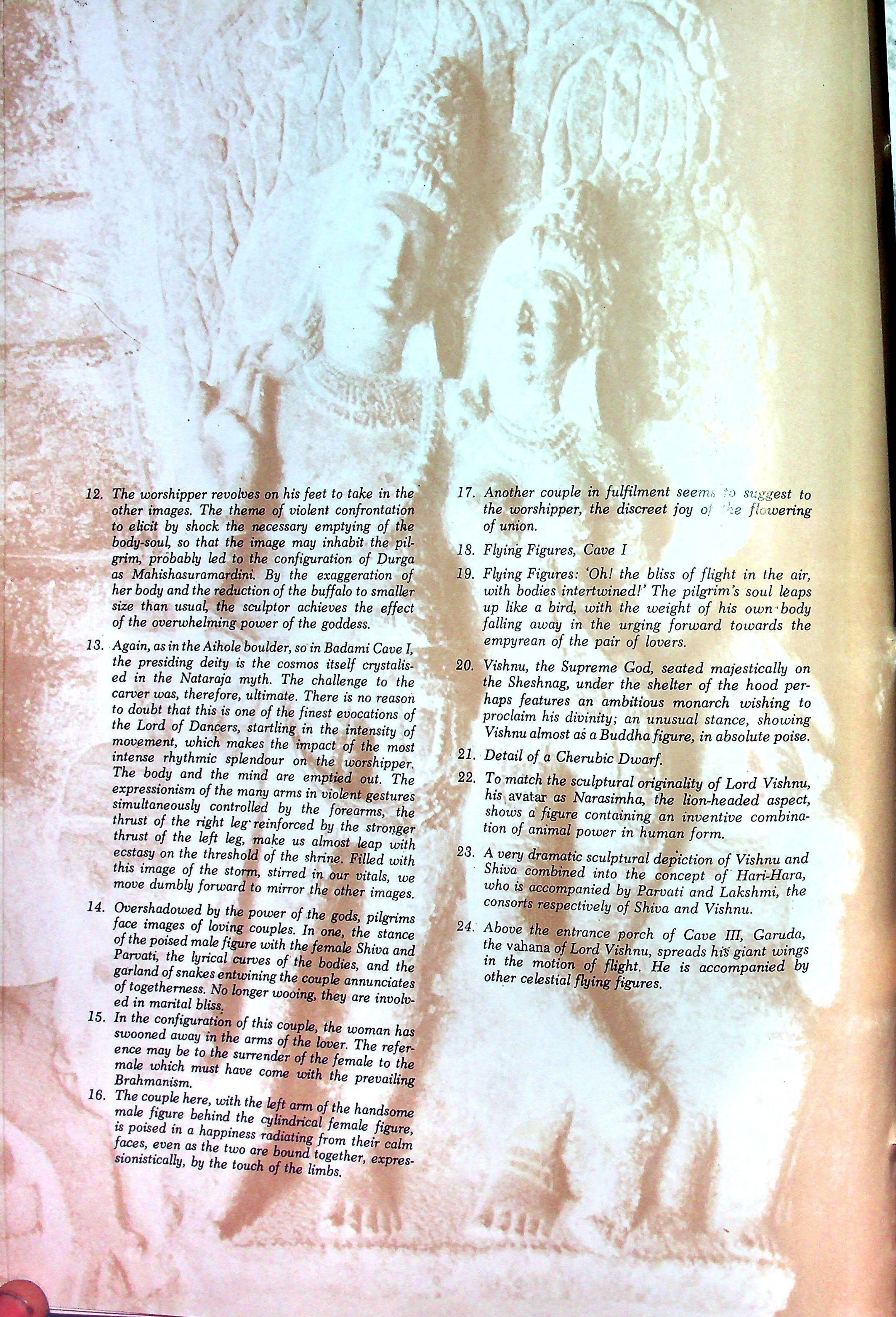
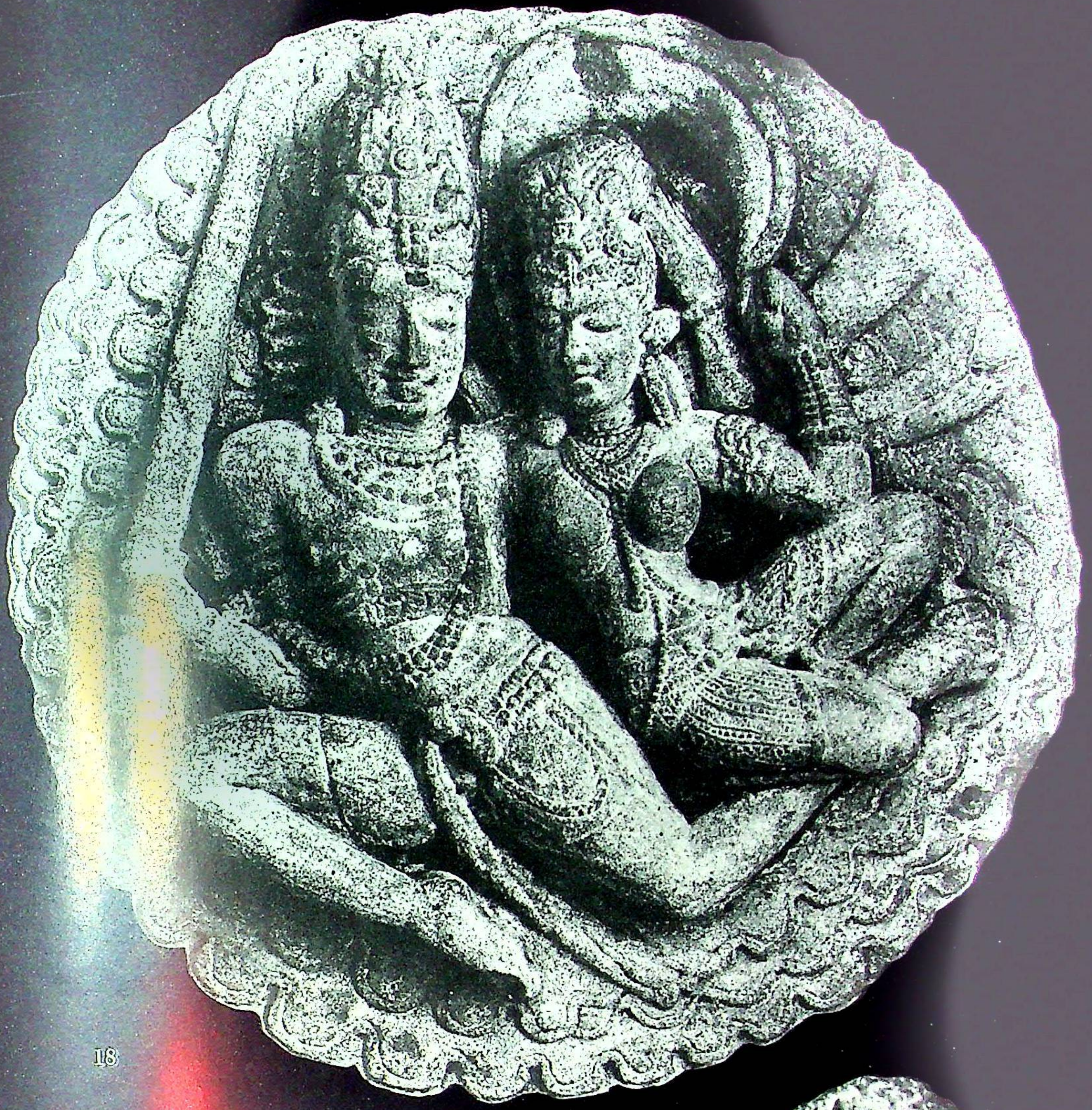




12. The worshipper revolves on his feet to take in the other images. The theme of violent confrontation to elicit by shock the necessary emptying of the body-soul, so that the image may inhabit the pilgrim, probably led to the configuration of Durga as Mahishasuramardini. By the exaggeration of her body and the reduction of the buffalo to smaller size than usual, the sculptor achieves the effect of the overwhelming power of the goddess.
13. Again, as in the Aihole boulder, so in Badami Cave I, the presiding deity is the cosmos itself crystalised in the Nataraja myth. The challenge to the carver was, therefore, ultimate. There is no reason to doubt that this is one of the finest evocations of the Lord of Dancers, startling in the intensity of movement, which makes the impact of the most intense rhythmic splendour on the worshipper. The body and the mind are emptied out. The expressionism of the many arms in violent gestures simultaneously controlled by the forearms, the thrust of the right leg reinforced by the stronger thrust of the left leg, make us almost leap with ecstasy on the threshold of the shrine. Filled with this image of the storm, stirred in our vitals, we move dumbly forward to mirror the other images.
14. Overshadowed by the power of the gods, pilgrims face images of loving couples. In one, the stance of the poised male figure with the female Shiva and Parvati, the lyrical curves of the bodies, and the garland of snakes entwining the couple annunciates of togetherness. No longer wooing, they are involved in marital bliss.
15. In the configuration of this couple, the woman has swooned away in the arms of the lover. The reference may be to the surrender of the female to the male which must have come with the prevailing Brahmanism.
16. The couple here, with the left arm of the handsome male figure behind the cylindrical female figure, is poised in a happiness radiating from their calm faces, even as the two are bound together, expressionistically, by the touch of the limbs.
17. Another couple in fulfilment seems to suggest to the worshipper, the discreet joy of the flowering of union.
18. Flying Figures, Cave I
19. Flying Figures: 'Oh! the bliss of flight in the air, with bodies intertwined!' The pilgrim's soul leaps up like a bird, with the weight of his own body falling away in the urging forward towards the empyrean of the pair of lovers.
20. Vishnu, the Supreme God, seated majestically on the Sheshnag, under the shelter of the hood perhaps features an ambitious monarch wishing to proclaim his divinity; an unusual stance, showing Vishnu almost as a Buddha figure, in absolute poise.
21. Detail of a Cherubic Dwarf.
22. To match the sculptural originality of Lord Vishnu, his avatar as Narasimha, the lion-headed aspect, shows a figure containing an inventive combination of animal power in human form.
23. A very dramatic sculptural depiction of Vishnu and Shiva combined into the concept of Hari-Hara, who is accompanied by Parvati and Lakshmi, the consorts respectively of Shiva and Vishnu.
24. Above the entrance porch of Cave III, Garuda, the vahana of Lord Vishnu, spreads his giant wings in the motion of flight. He is accompanied by other celestial flying figures.



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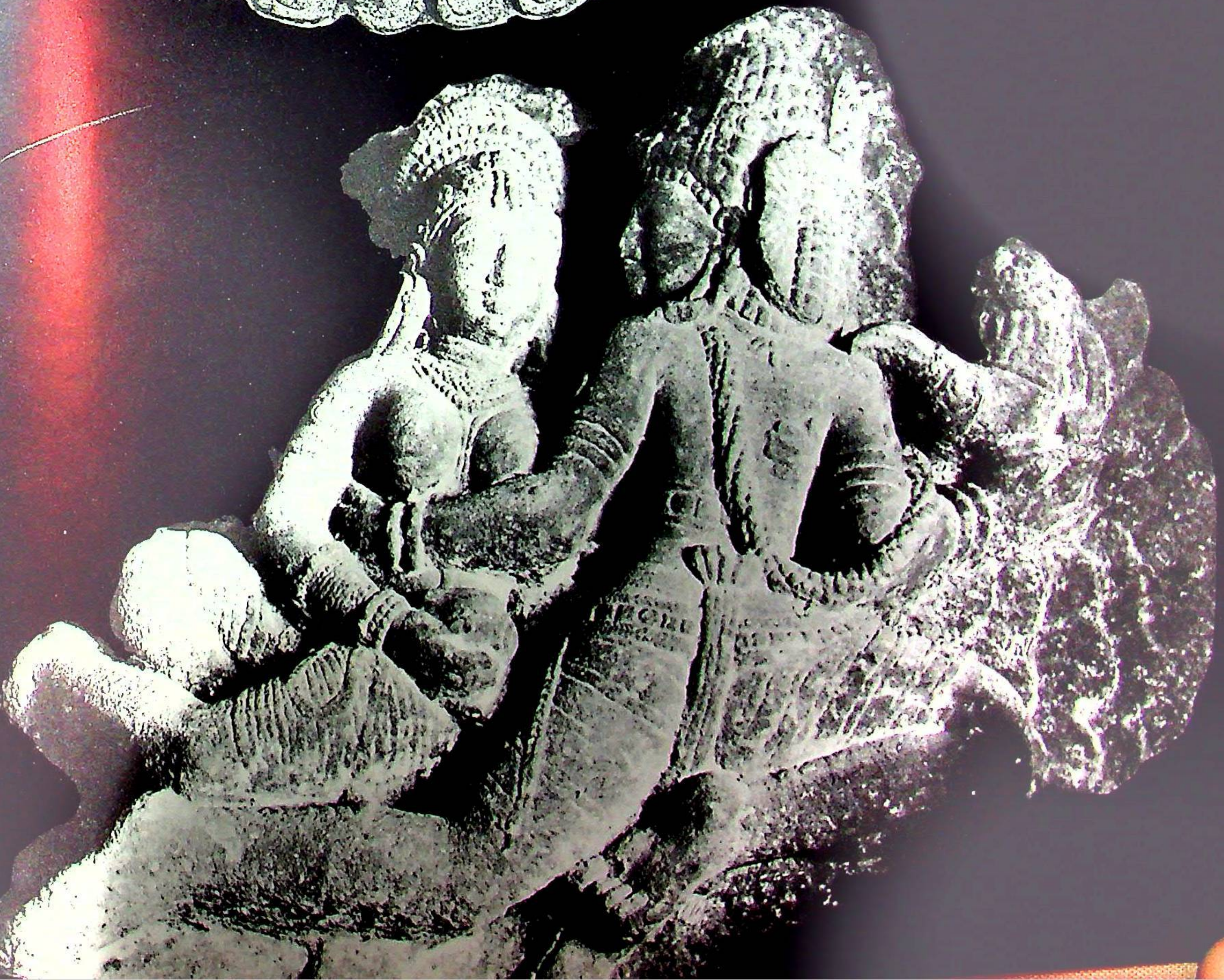

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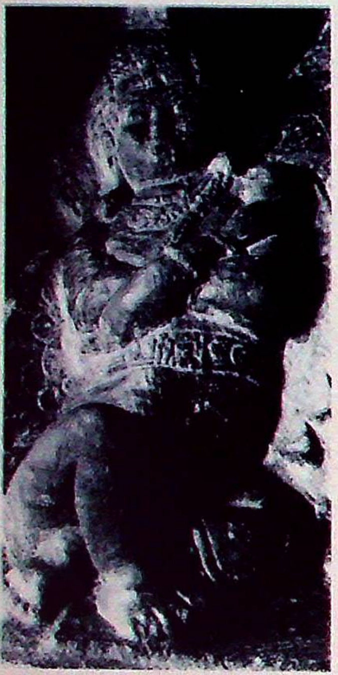

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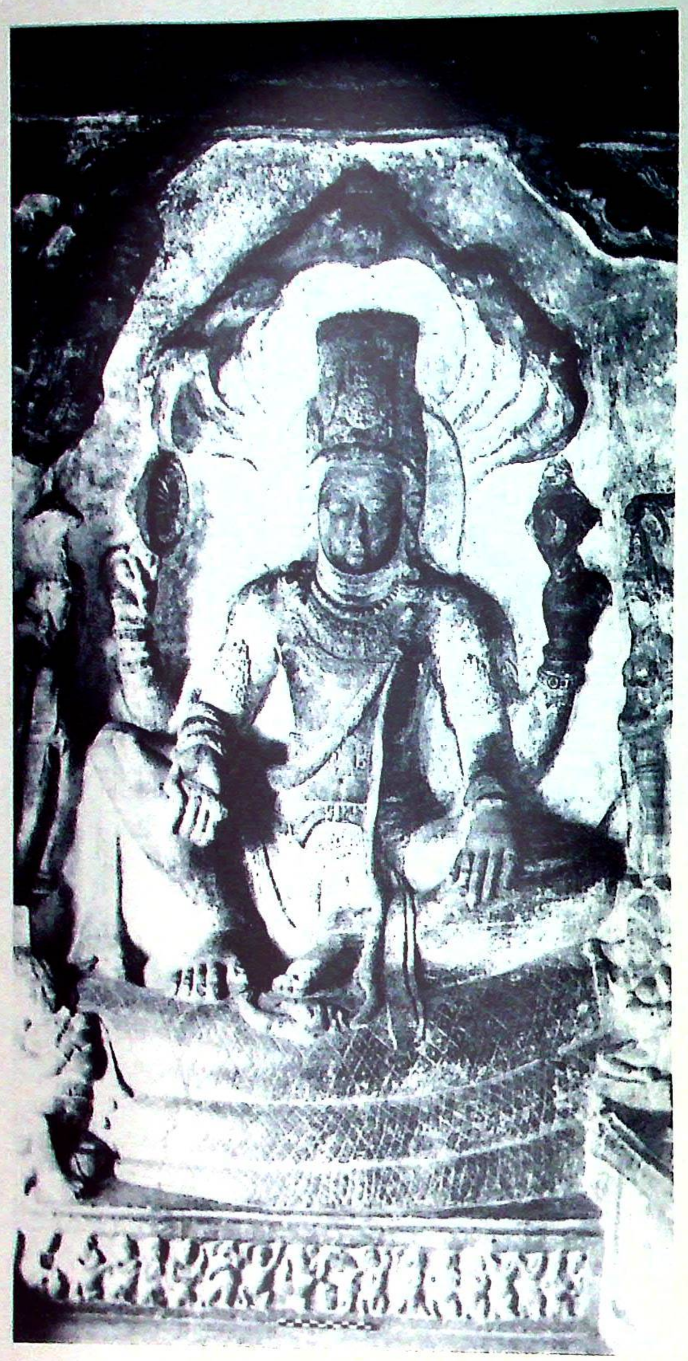

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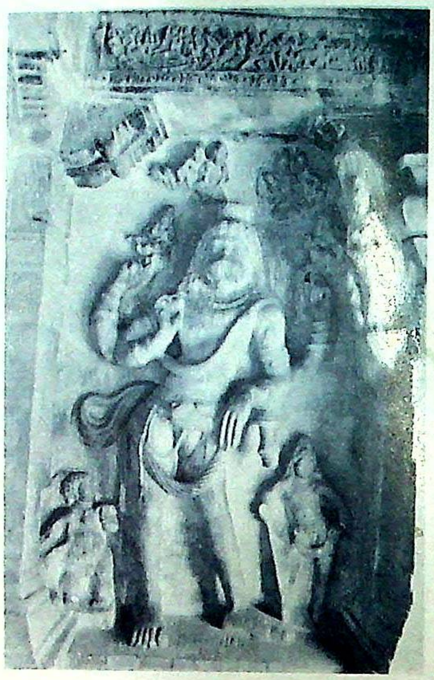

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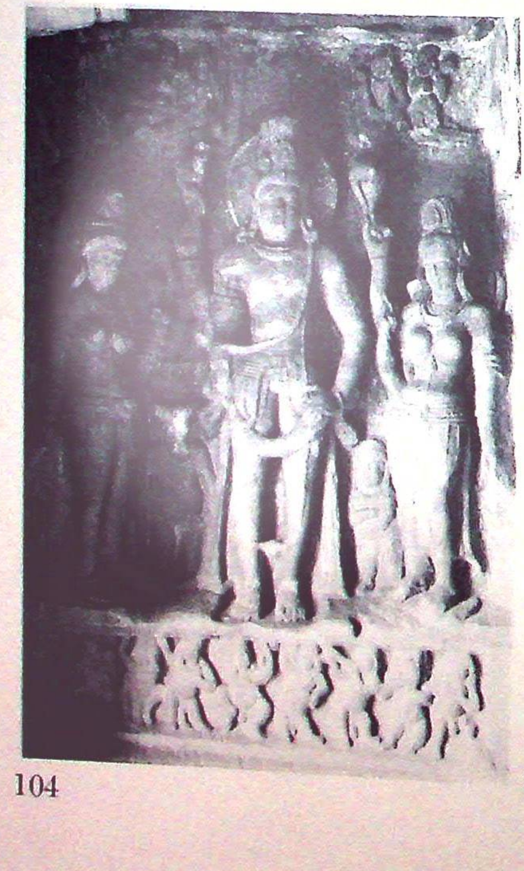

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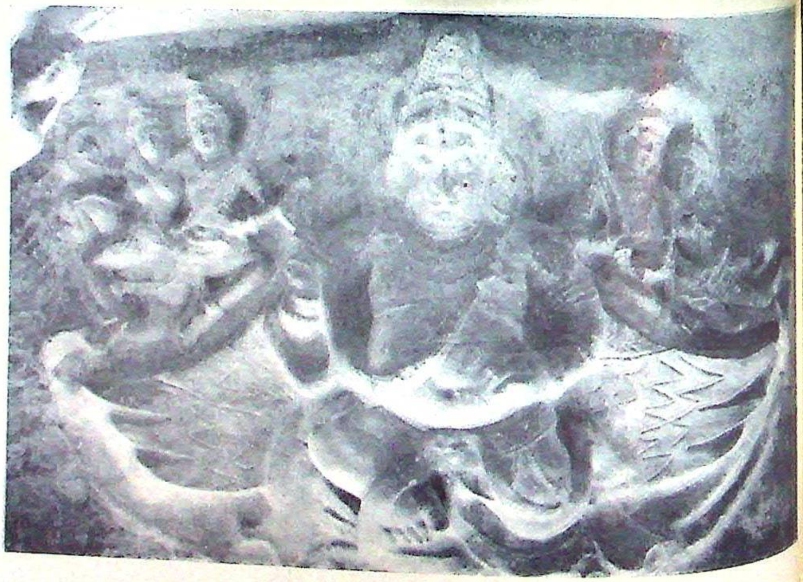

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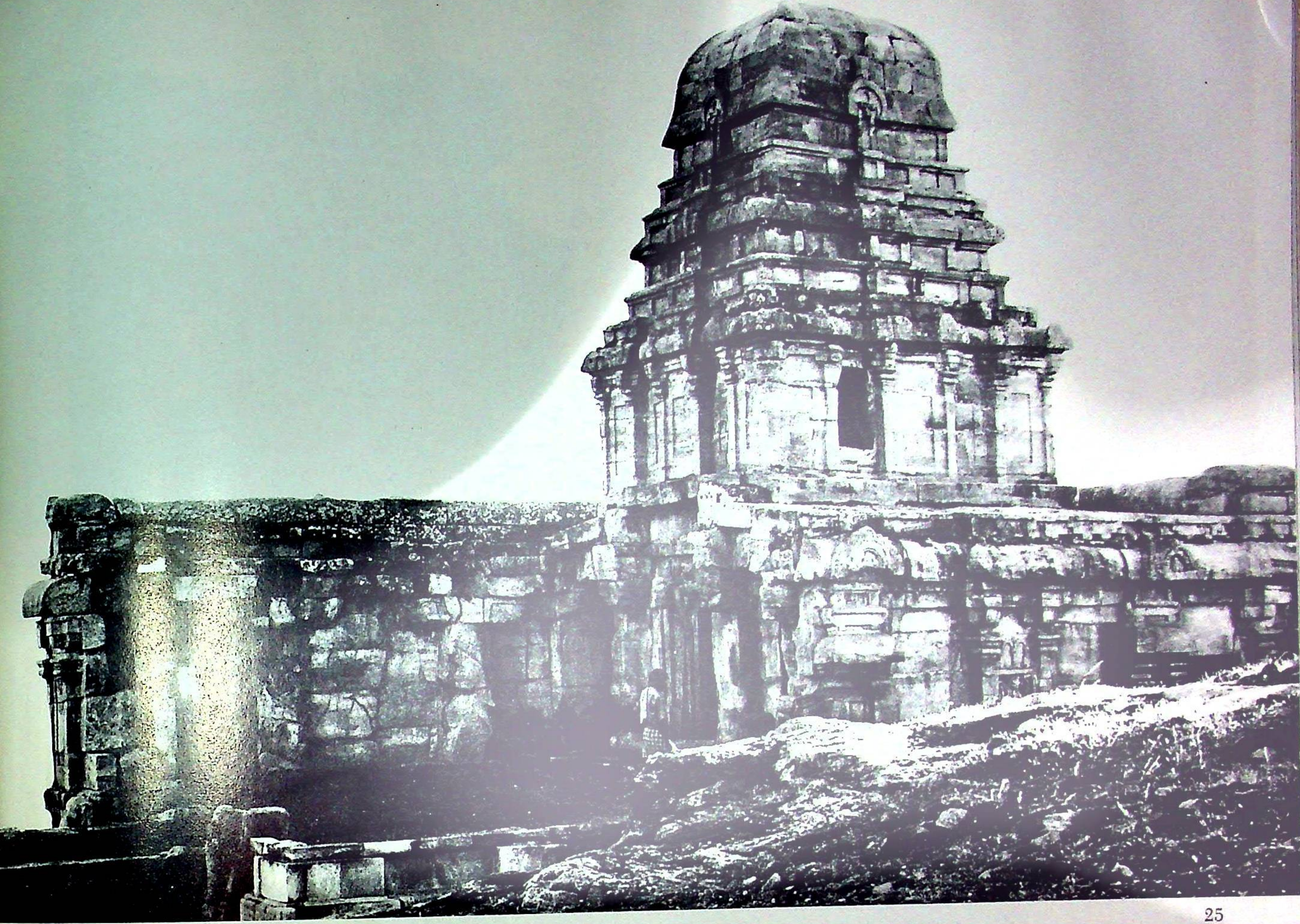

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25. *Upper Shivalaya temple: Dominating the hilltop on the left, high above the Badami village, there is the exalted* sikhara *of the Upper Shivalaya temple, reconstructed from the rock as a composition of music in the upper sphere. The soul of the pilgrim rises with uplifted eyes, and the body has to follow, if excited enough to the possibility of vision.*

26. *Malegitti Shivalaya temple, also known as the garland-seller's temple: Space itself seems to be startled by the precarious placing on the bluff of the hill, the Malegitti shrine, where architecture and sculpture are composed in a vibration which attains divine stature.*

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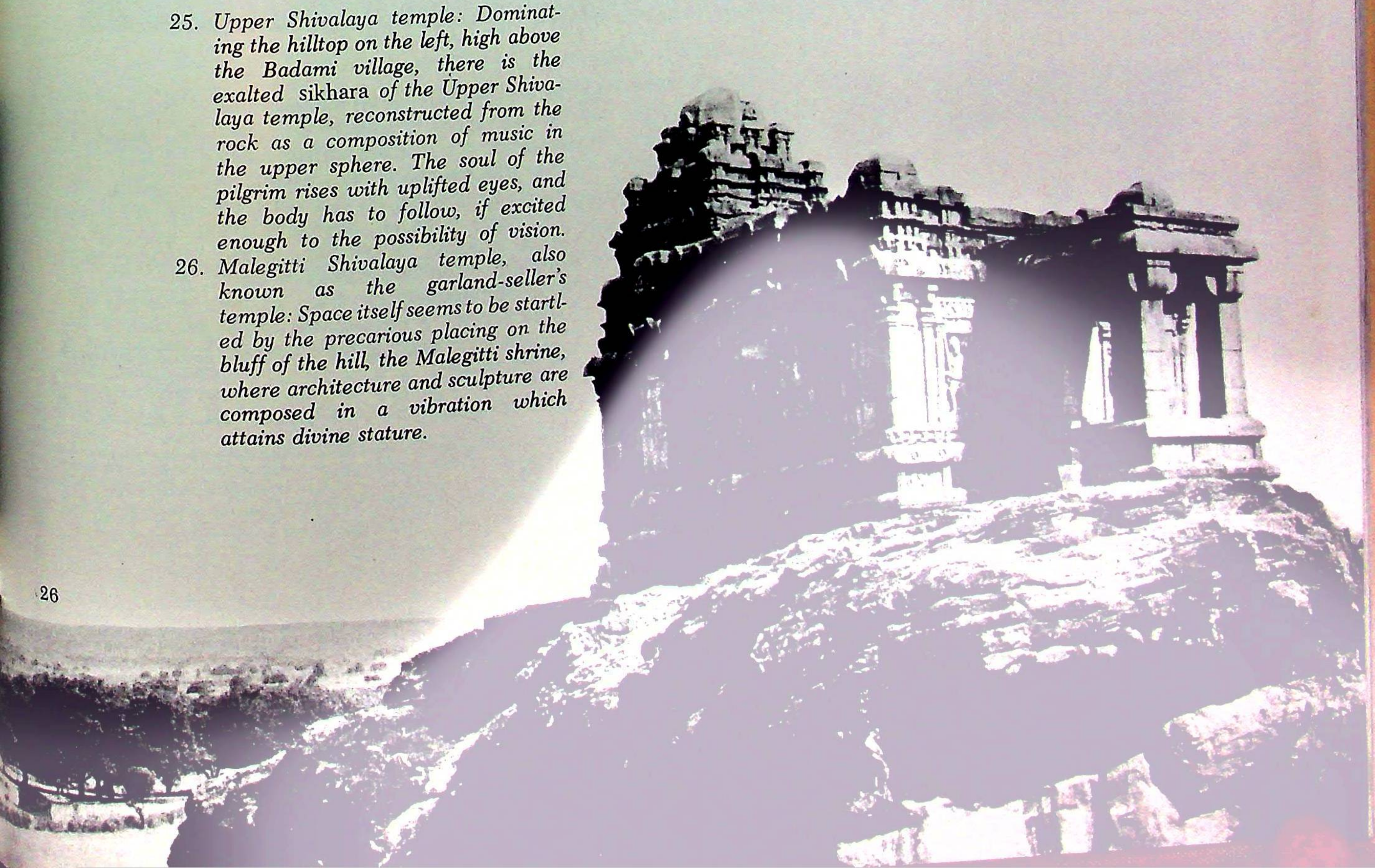

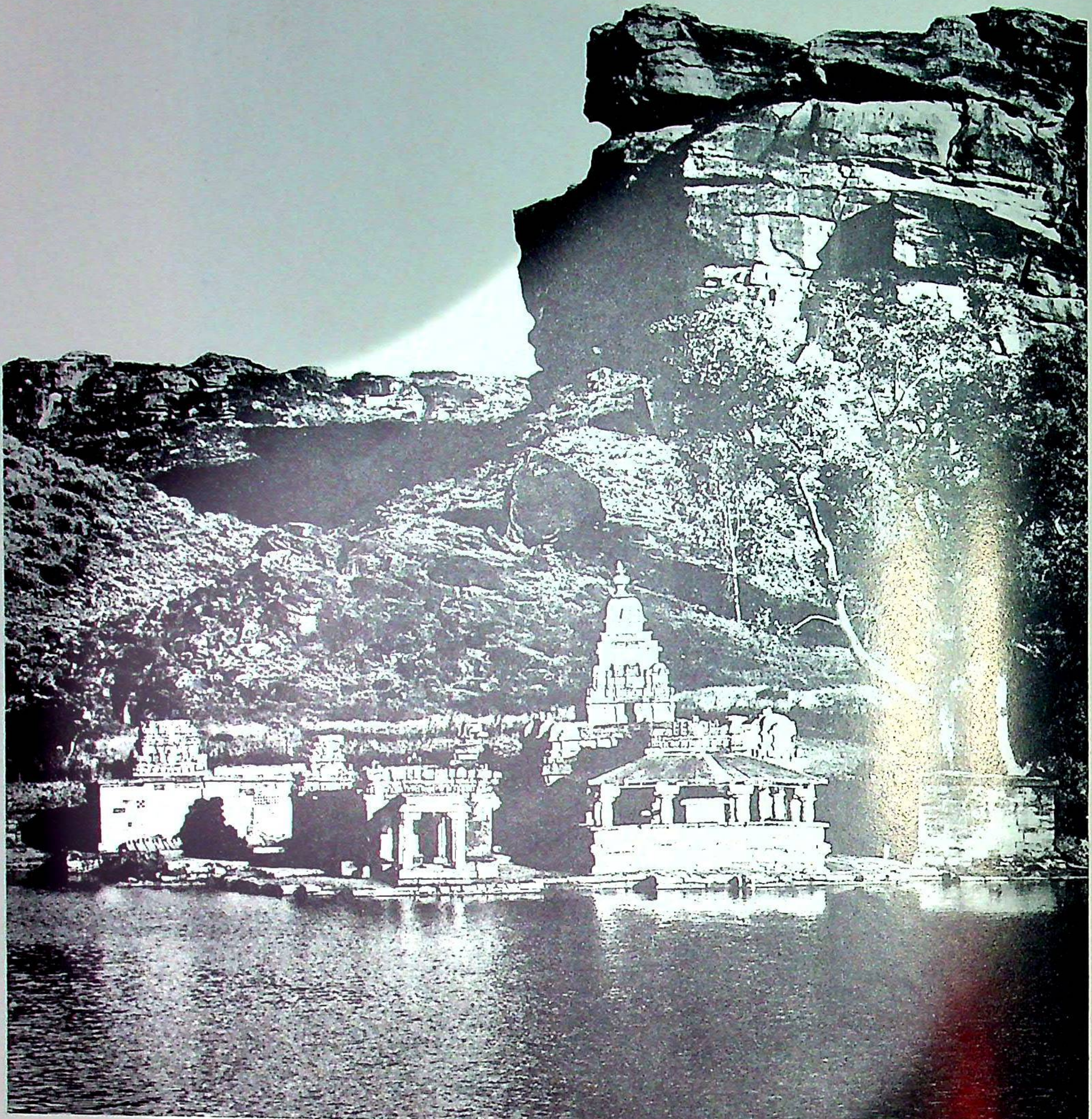

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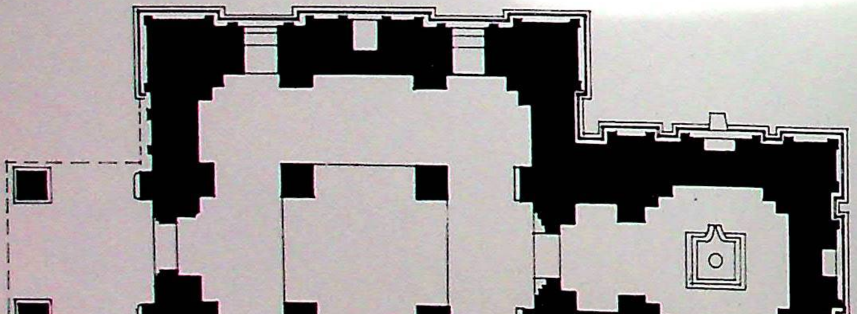

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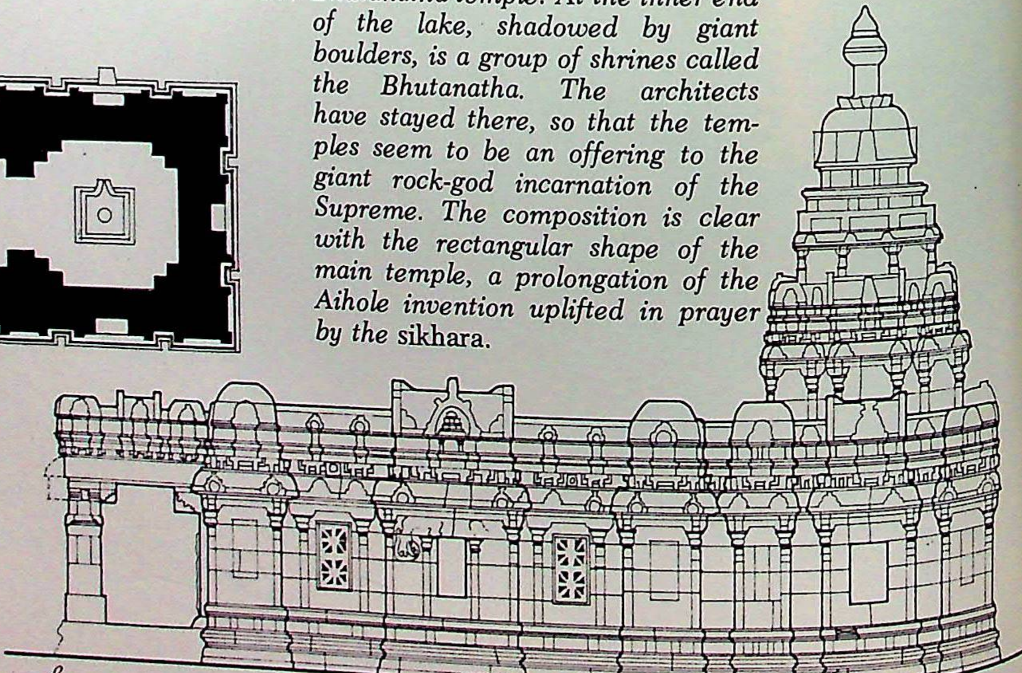
27. *Bhutanatha temple: At the inner end of the lake, shadowed by giant boulders, is a group of shrines called the Bhutanatha. The architects have stayed there, so that the temples seem to be an offering to the giant rock-god incarnation of the Supreme. The composition is clear with the rectangular shape of the main temple, a prolongation of the Aihole invention uplifted in prayer by the* sikhara.



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(d) Plan: Bhutanatha temple
(e) Line drawing: Bhutanatha temple

Mahakuta

The complex at Mahakuta consists of a number of temples and small shrines surrounded by a high enclosure wall entered through a gateway to the east. In the middle of the enclosure is a masonry tank fed by a natural spring of fresh water which is then chanelled into the adjoining fields and gardens. Placed in the tank is a small pavilion sheltering a four-faced lingam.

The two large temples (Mahakuteshvara and Mallikarjuna) face east, but many of the smaller structures are orientated so that they face the tank. Against the walls are various covered areas and raised platforms, mostly recent additions, some of which conceal small temples. Another gateway, outside the enclosure to the south-east has unusual guardian figures: it probably post-dates the Early Western Chalukya period. Overlooking the site is the small Bananti temple. The fluted sandstone column with a ribbed cushion capital, found lying outside the enclosure, was removed some time ago to the Archaeological Museum at Bijapur. Carved around the shaft of the column is an inscription dated to 601 recording, on the authority of Mangalesha, an increase of a previous grant to the god Mahakuteshvaranatha by the income from ten villages. Mahakuta seems to have been, therefore, a sacred site of great importance for the Early Western Chalukya rulers. Between Mahakuta and Badami are the temple sites of Chikka Mahakuta and Nagral.

Mahakuteshvara Temple

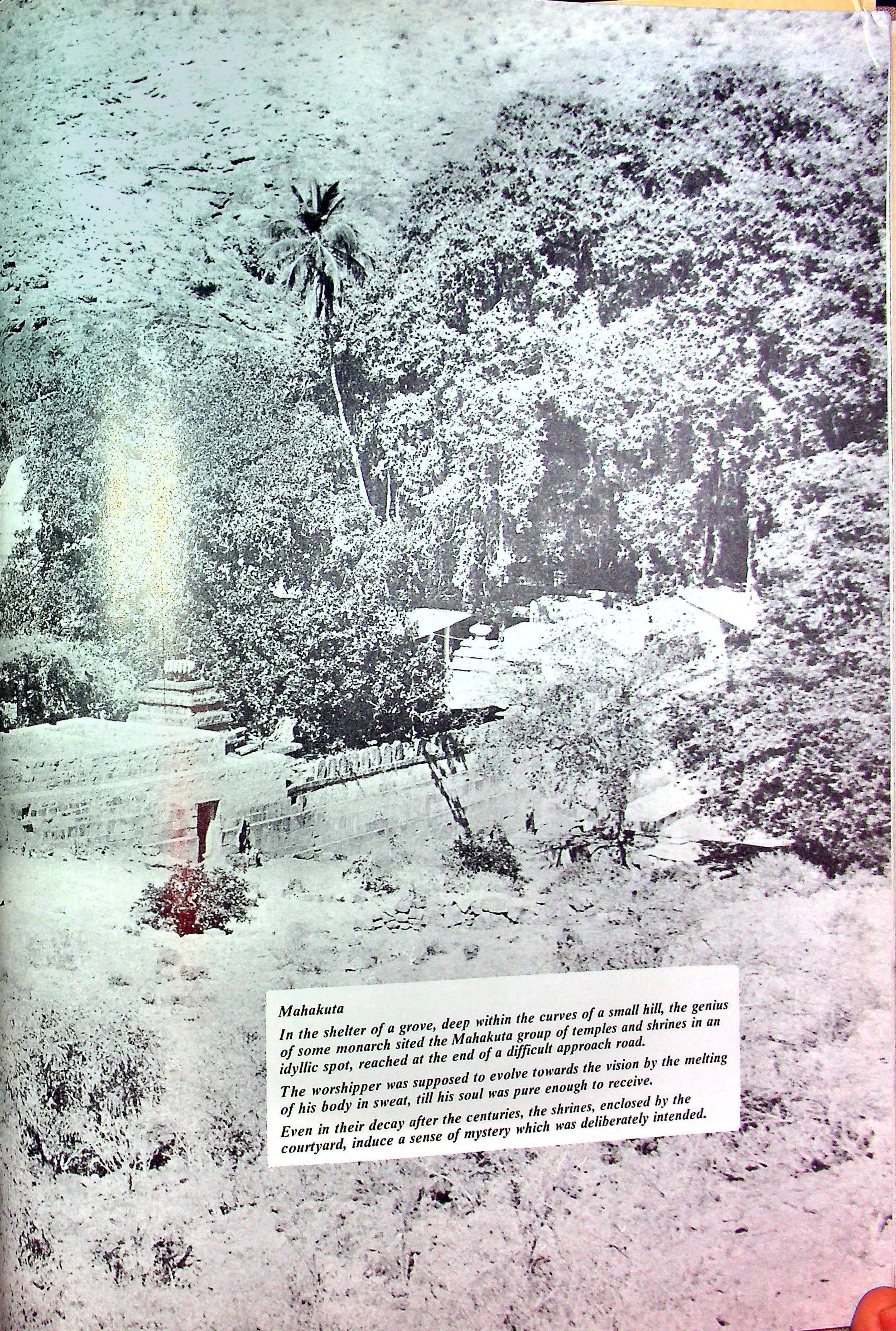
Covered with white wash and partly disfigured by modern additions, including a concrete porch (removed from the drawing), this temple is still in worship. In many respects it displays the fully formed concept of the southern-styled Early Western Chalukya temple. A large columned hall leads to a sanctuary surrounded on three sides by an ambulatory passageway; both are lit by pierced stone windows. A detached Nandi pavilion is placed on axis with the entrance porch. The outer walls of the temple are elevated on a plinth with a richly carved frieze. Between double sets of pilasters on three sides of the sanctuary are sculpture panels. Above the parapet rises the superstructure surmounted by a large octagon-to-dome form. The roofing system is unique—unlike most other temples of this period there are no sloping roof slabs or ceiling panels. In the neighbouring Mallikarjuna temple, however, raised horizontal roof slabs with ceiling panels are combined with sloping slabs in the more conventional Early Chalukya manner. In many of its features the Mallikarjuna temple is identical to the Mahakuteshvara and is probably a later copy. It is not certain that the dated column inscription refers to the Mahakuteshvara temple.

Sangameshvara Temple

One of the best preserved of the small temples at Mahakuta, this example clearly exhibits the Early Chalukya formulation of the northern style. The square sanctuary preceded by a small porch on four columns is surmounted by a tower with the characteristic curved profile and ribbed finial. Projections in the centres of each side are created by pilasters (not contiguous with the walls). A Nandi plinth is found to the east. The temple may be compared to its neighbour, the Kalakaleshvara temple, also to the Chakra temple at Aihole and the Kadasiddheshvara and Jambulinga temples at Pattadakal.

Bananti Temple

Almost completely unadorned, this small building is remarkable for its clearly defined superstructure resembling, in many respects, the Upper Shivalaya temple at Badami with which it may be contemporary.

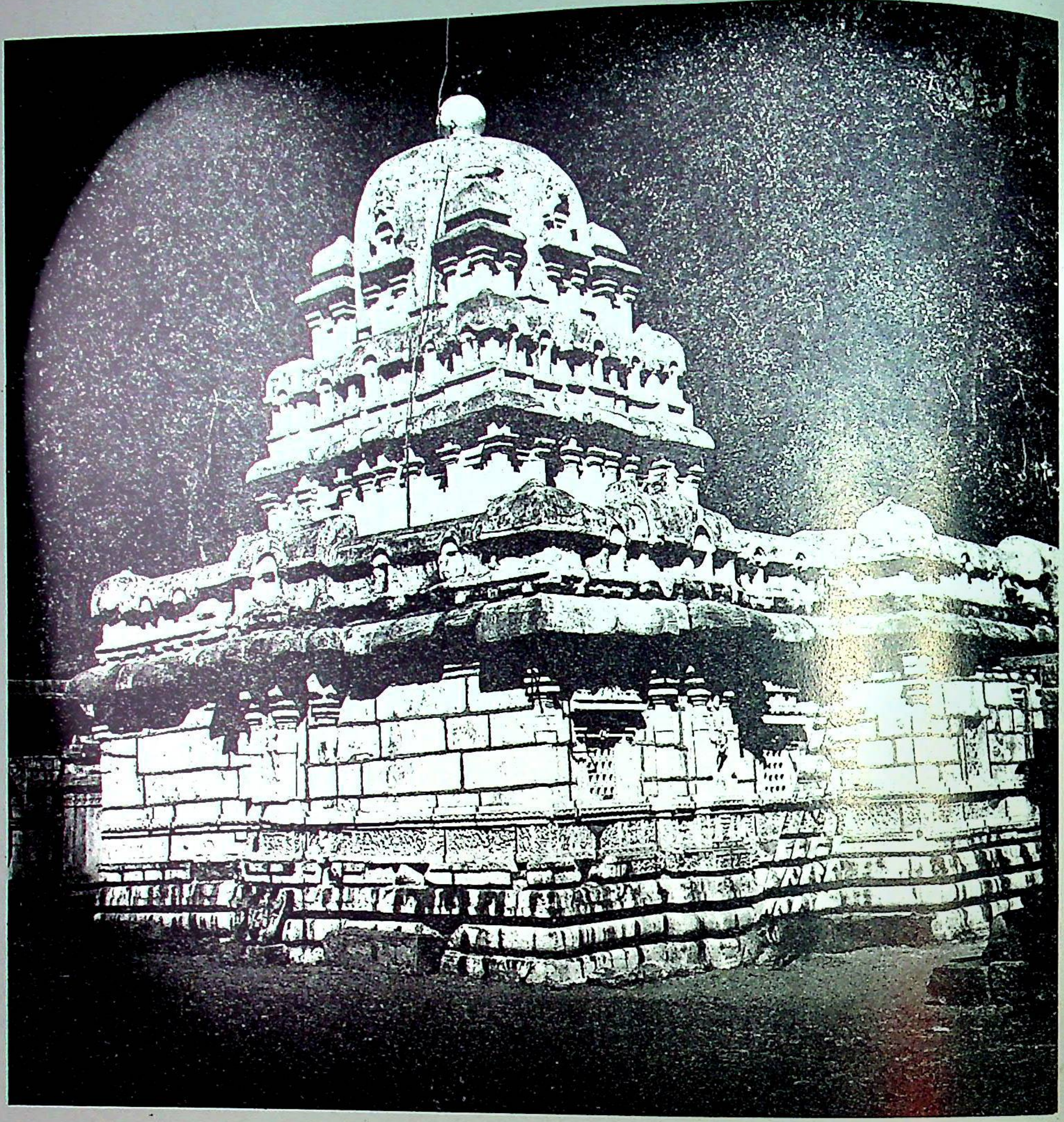


Mahakuta

In the shelter of a grove, deep within the curves of a small hill, the genius of some monarch sited the Mahakuta group of temples and shrines in an idyllic spot, reached at the end of a difficult approach road.

The worshipper was supposed to evolve towards the vision by the melting of his body in sweat, till his soul was pure enough to receive.

Even in their decay after the centuries, the shrines, enclosed by the courtyard, induce a sense of mystery which was deliberately intended.



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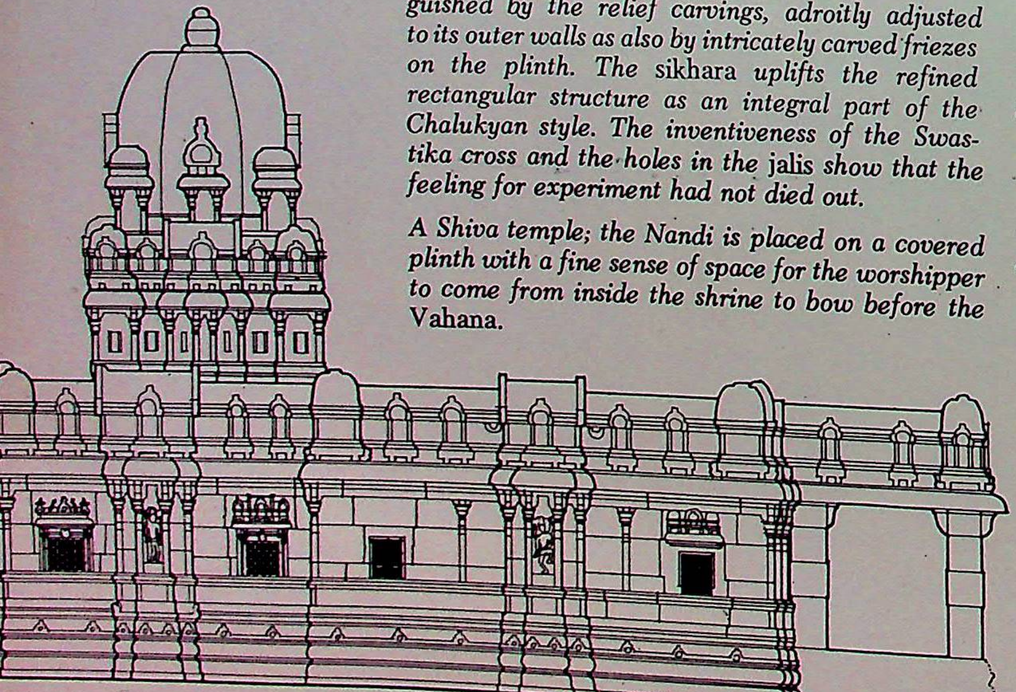
1. *Mahakuteshvara temple: The Mahakuteshvara, a mature Western Chalukyan temple, is distinguished by the relief carvings, adroitly adjusted to its outer walls as also by intricately carved friezes on the plinth. The sikhara uplifts the refined rectangular structure as an integral part of the Chalukyan style. The inventiveness of the Swastika cross and the holes in the jalis show that the feeling for experiment had not died out.*

   A Shiva temple; the Nandi is placed on a covered plinth with a fine sense of space for the worshipper to come from inside the shrine to bow before the Vahana.

2. *The Mahakuta site is in fact a number of small shrines which are placed all around the Vishnu pond. Sangamesvara temple with the Mahakuteshvara tower in the background.*

3. *Each shrine at the Mahakuta site is dedicated to Shiva. It is, therefore, not surprising to find one's eyes filled with numerous freestanding sculptures of Shiva's great bull Nandi.*

4. *Detail of Figure 8.*



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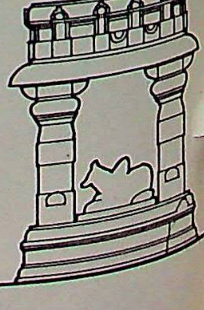

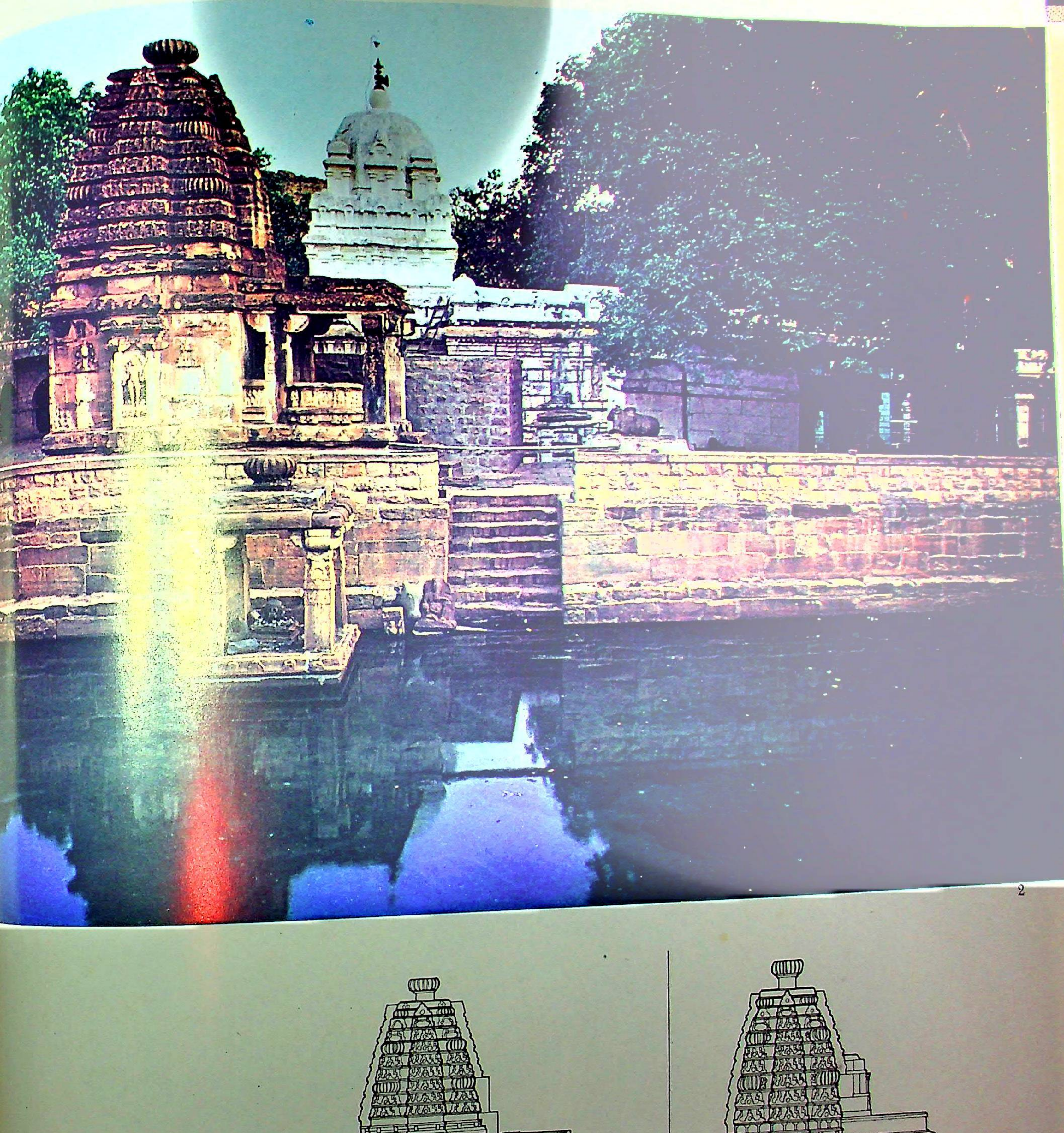

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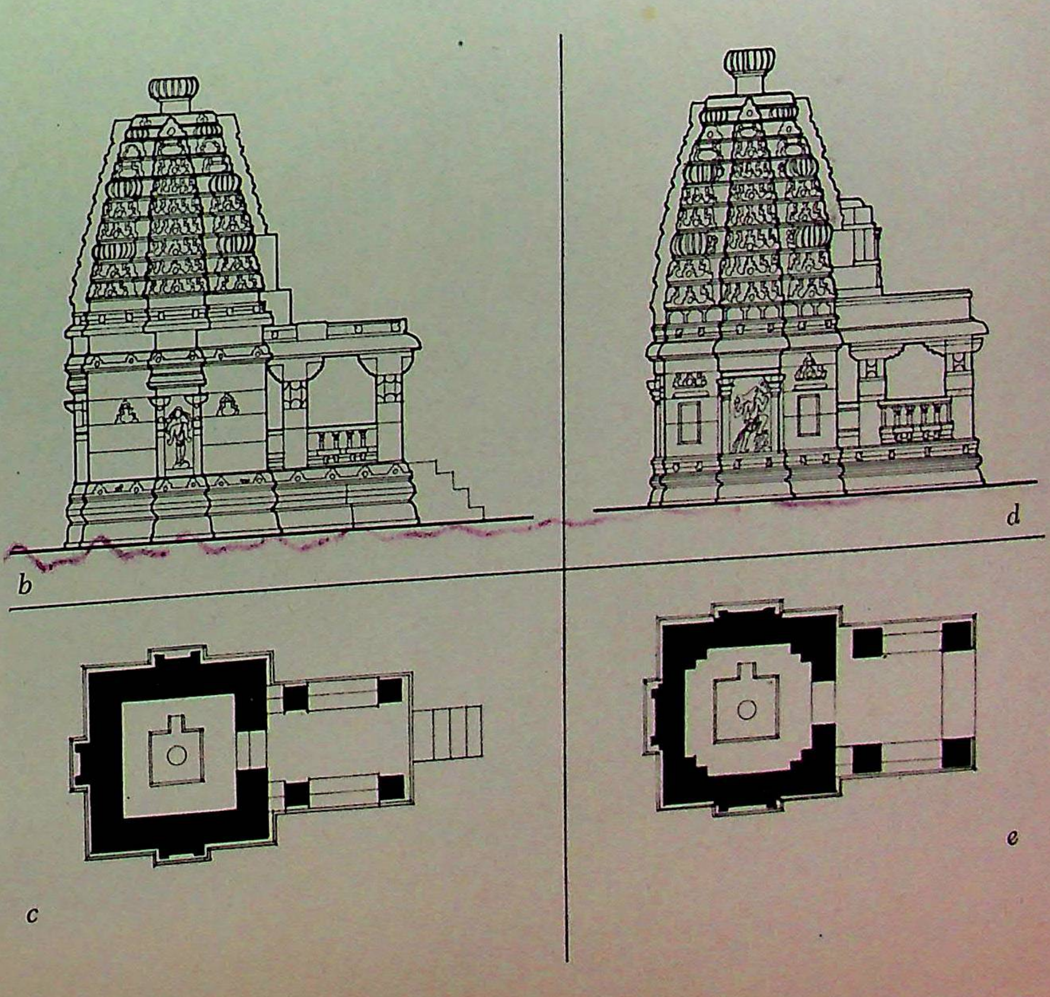
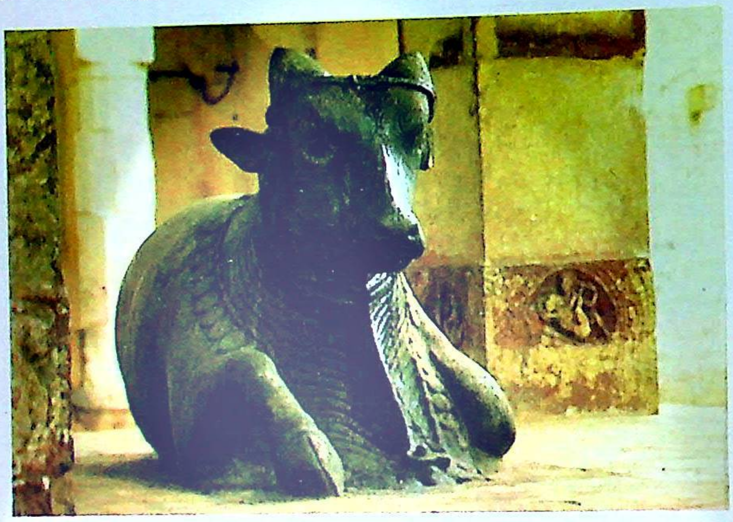


(a) *Line drawing: Mahakutesvara temple*
(b) *Line drawing: Sangamesvara temple*
(c) *Plan: Sangamesvara temple*
(d) *Line drawing: Mahalinga temple*
(e) *Plan: Mahalinga temple*

5. *On the outside of the temple area, there is a double platform on either side of the door-way are two demonical skeletons of quite terrifying appearance.*
6. *Detail of Figure 9.*
7. *The Vishnu pond, at the side of the Sangameshvara temple has enshrined one of the most delicately carved mukhalinga phallic images, a flower of the sensibility of a carver of deep imaginative fervour; about sixth/seventh century A.D.*
8. *The Ardhanarishvara Figure emphasising the feminine blendishments is an exquisitely carved relief sculpture, perhaps more lyrical than any other figure of its type.*
9. *The cylindrical grace, which is visible in the sculptured figures in Badami, is recaptured in this image of Shiva as Lakulisa standing on the dwarf Apasmara. With a mastery of the chisel, the sculptor has awakened the god incipient in the stone before the touch of genius evoked the god.*
10. *In the powerful image of the Boar avatar of Vishnu portrayed with the controlled mastery of the imperious conquering form, we have the echo of the Boar avatar from the Gupta cave in Udaigiri near Vidisha. The carving here is resilient, lyrical and pellucid, invoking reverence.*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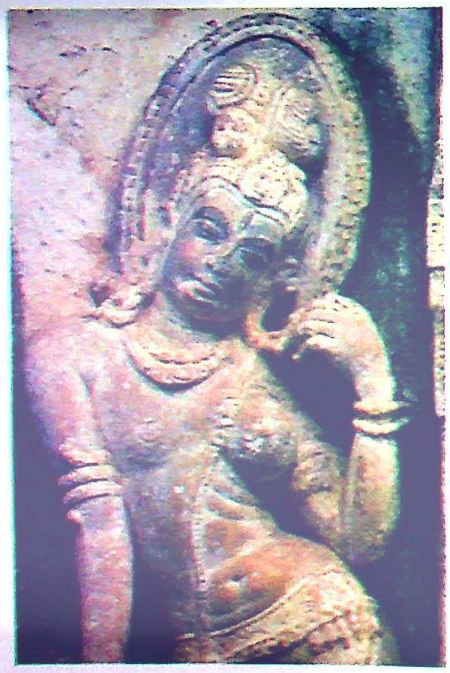
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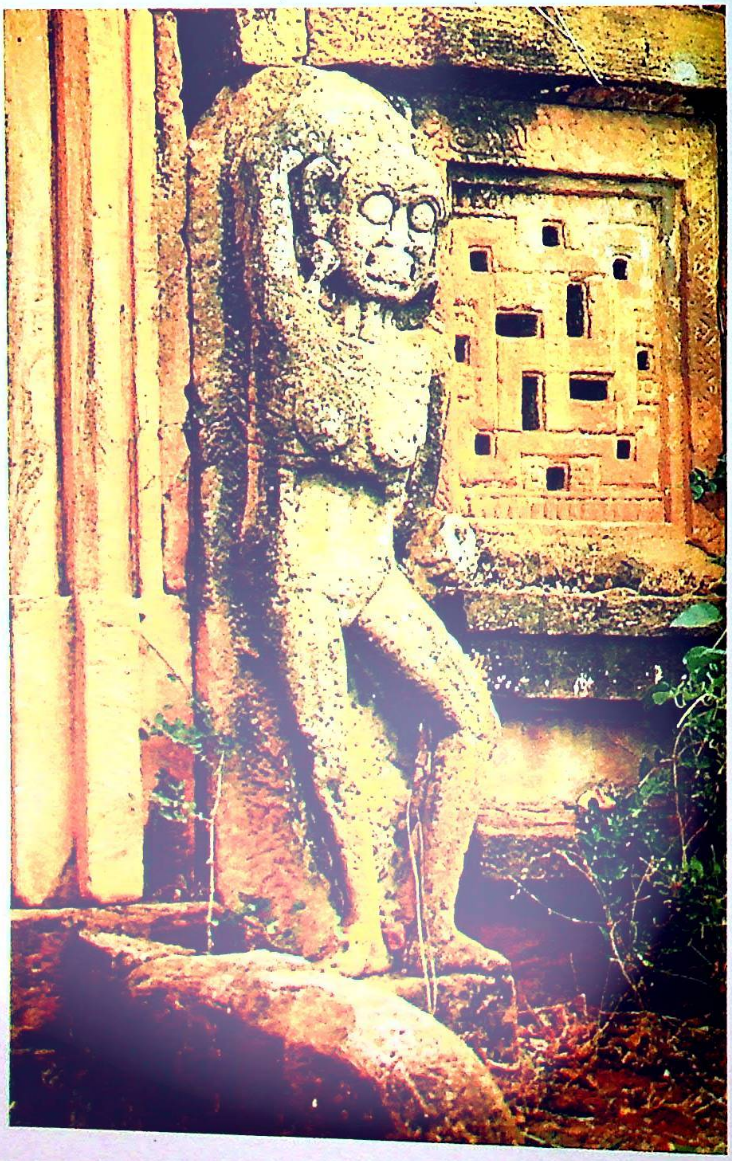
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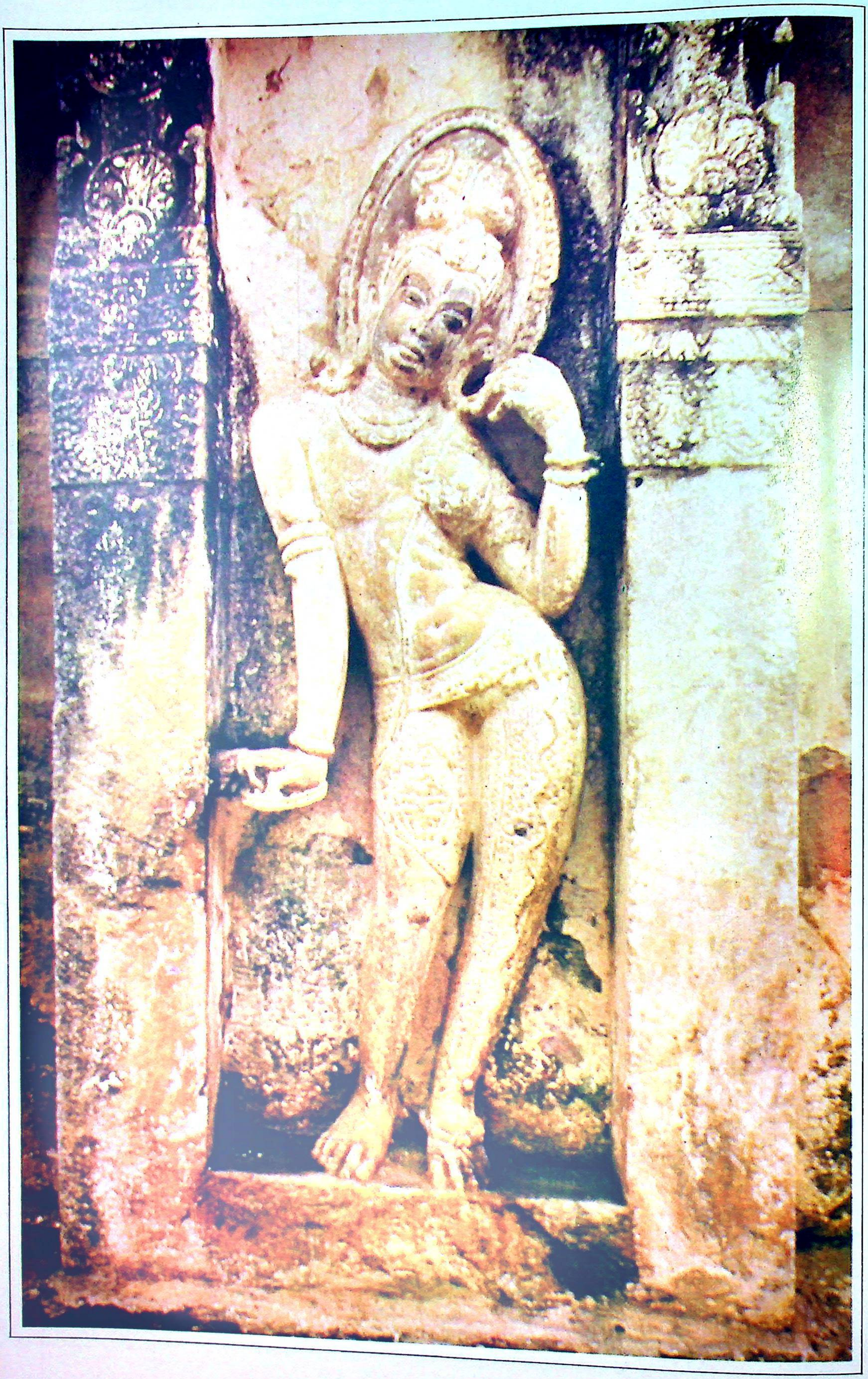

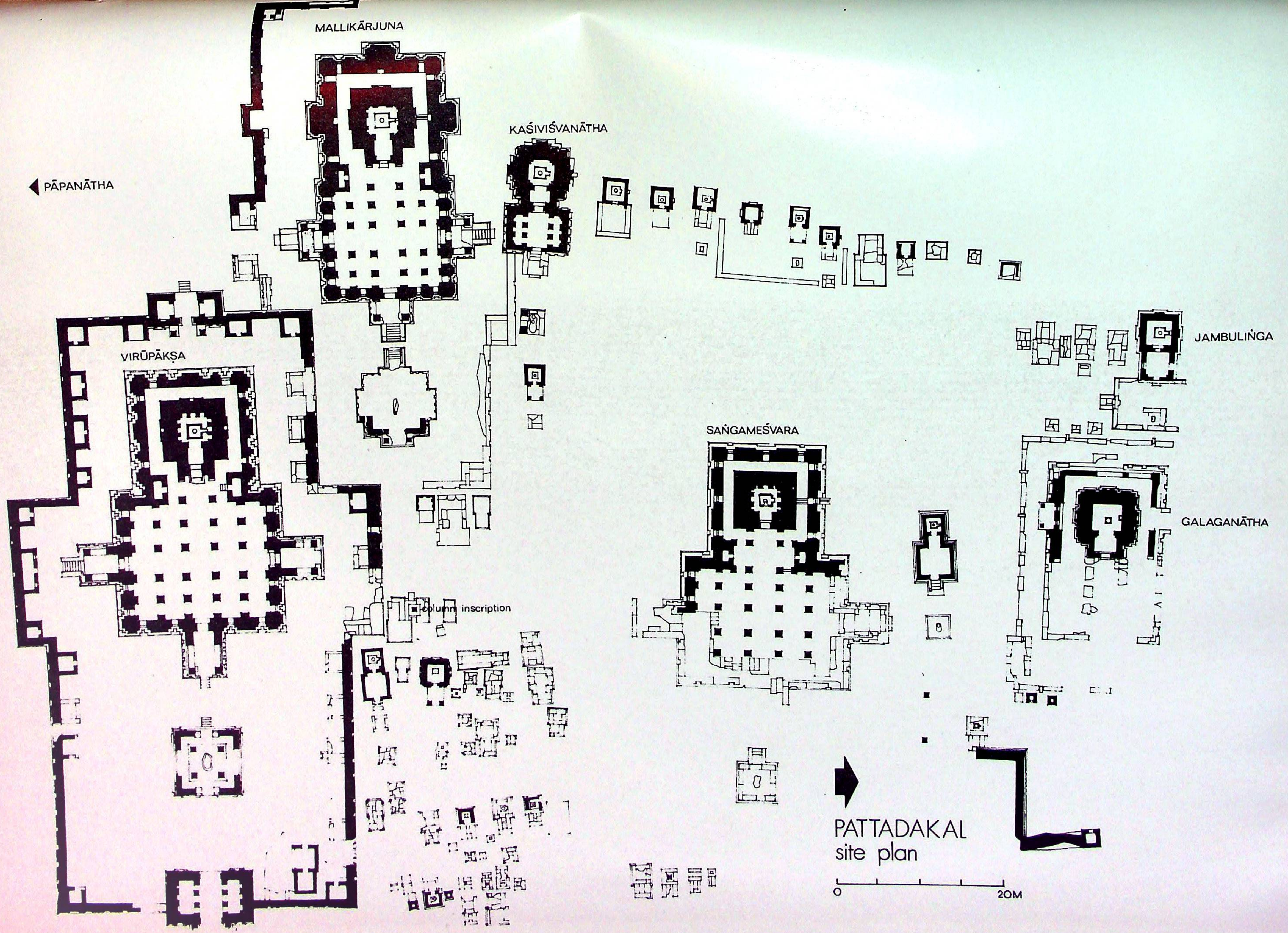
MALLIKĀRJUNA
KAŚIVIŚVANĀTHA
PĀPANĀTHA
JAMBULIṄGA
VIRŪPĀKṢA
SAṄGAMEŚVARA
GALAGANĀTHA
column inscription
PATTADAKAL
site plan
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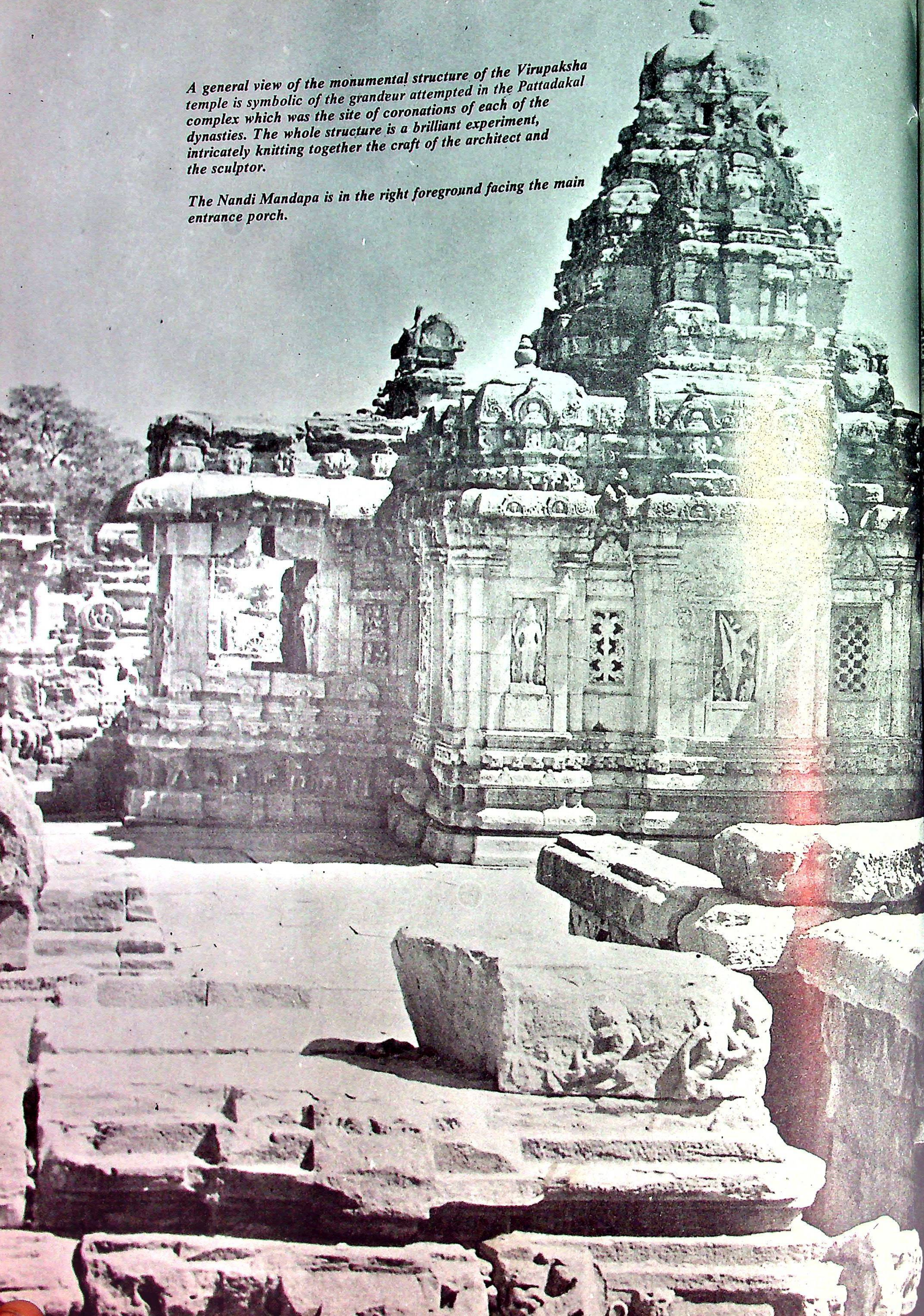
20M

A general view of the monumental structure of the Virupaksha temple is symbolic of the grandeur attempted in the Pattadakal temple complex which was the site of coronations of each of the dynasties. The whole structure is a brilliant experiment, intricately knitting together the craft of the architect and the sculptor.

The Nandi Mandapa is in the right foreground facing the main entrance porch.



Pattadakal

Located on the banks of the Malaprabha river, Pattadakal was never associated with any town; rather, it functioned as a royal commemorative site, and also as a setting for coronation ceremonies. Seven temples are closely grouped together, though irregularly, surrounded by numerous minor shrines and plinths. To the south and west of the complex is the modern village; further south is the Papanatha temple. Despite the discovery of brick foundations, possibly dating back to the Satavahana era (second and third centuries), none of the stone temples at Pattadakal predate the Early Western Chalukyan period. Three temples are definitely associated with early eighth century rulers according to the historical information recorded on a column set up at the site by Kirtivarman II. The Pattadakal temples represent the climax of Early Western Chalukya architecture; they also provide one of the most striking illustrations in India of the coexistence of different building styles and art traditions. The increased scale of the temples, accompanied by a complex elevational and spatial treatment and a rich decoration pervading all parts of the exterior and interior, testifies to the ambition and taste of their royal patrons. In fact, the contemporary Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna temples are the largest and most richly decorated monuments of their time, unparalleled anywhere else in India before the middle of the eighth century. That building activity continued after the collapse of the Early Western Chalukyas is indicated by the Kashivishvanatha temple, probably belonging to the second half of the eighth century. The Jain temple to the east of the site has been associated with the Rashtrakuta period.

Jambulinga Temple

Like its neighbour, the Kadasiddheshvara temple, this example is a small structure with a northern style tower, notable for the pronounced horse-shoe arched projection on its front face framing an image of Shiva dancing. The delicately pilastered walls betray a southern stylistic influence. To the east is the foundation of a Nandi pavilion.

Galaganatha Temple

Possibly never completed, this temple is unlike any other in the area; its close relation to the monuments at Alampur suggests that craftsmen from that site were imported for its construction. The most striking feature of the temple is its well-preserved tower, broken only on the east side revealing its hollow interior. The design demonstrates an evolved stage in the development of the northern style — the number of horizontal tiers are multiplied and several intermediate stages added. Horse-shoe arched motifs, both complete and 'split', create a lace-like mesh rising up the central projection; flattened ribbed fruit motifs are placed at the outside. Of the three porches that once sheltered the pierced stone windows flanking sculpture panels, only that on the south is preserved. This may be compared to similar porches in the Papanatha temple.

Sangameshvara Temple

Founded by Vijayaditya at the beginning of the eighth century as the Vijayeshvara temple, this structure remains incomplete despite several building phases (the columned hall is clearly a later addition). The sanctuary and superstructure, however, are original; their finely proportioned storeys capped by the square-to-dome roof form constitute one of the great achievements of the Chalukya architects. The moulded base with mythical animals, the wall symmetrically divided by pilasters flanking sculpture panels (mostly unfinished) and the perforated stone windows were closely copied in the succeeding Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna temples.

Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna Temples

These neighbouring, almost identical, temples were erected by the two queens of Vikramaditya II probably sometime in the 740's, to commemorate the victory of their husband over Pallavas at Kanchipuram. The temples were originally called Lokeshvara and Trailokeshvara after their royal patrons (corresponding, respectively, to the modern names, Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna). In plan, the temples consist of a sanctuary surrounded on three sides by an ambulatory passageway; these open onto a large columned hall entered by three porches, Minor shrines are added inside the halls which are here expanded to a width of five aisles. On axis with each temple to the east is a pavilion with great circular columns flanking a gigantic image of Nandi. Enclosure walls with minor shrines and gateways surround both temples and pavilions in rectangles. The diagonal arrangement by which the enclosure walls of the two temples interlock is unique in Indian architecture. The gateway giving access to the Virupaksha temple from the river is a major structure in itself, complete with sculpture panels, carved porch column and inscriptions. In their outer elevations both temples are consumate expressions of the southern style though they combine the elements of plinth, pilastered wall, open porch and parapet in slightly different ways. The Mallikarjuna temple is more compact but also more three-dimensional in concept: the projections created by double sets of pilasters in the Virupaksha temple are here increased to triple sets. The sculpture panels alternating with exquisitely carved windows on the outer walls, the relief carvings on the interior columns, the attendant figures of the porch and hall columns as well as the decorated beams and ceiling panels illustrate the range and vitality of Early Western Chalukya art at its most brilliant. The superstructures combine multi-storeyed southern towers with horse-shoe arched projections from the northern tradition on their front faces. The crowning roof form in the Virupaksha temple is square-based but hemispherical in the Mallikarjuna temple. In all respects, the Mallikarjuna temple represents a stylistic advance on the Virupaksha.

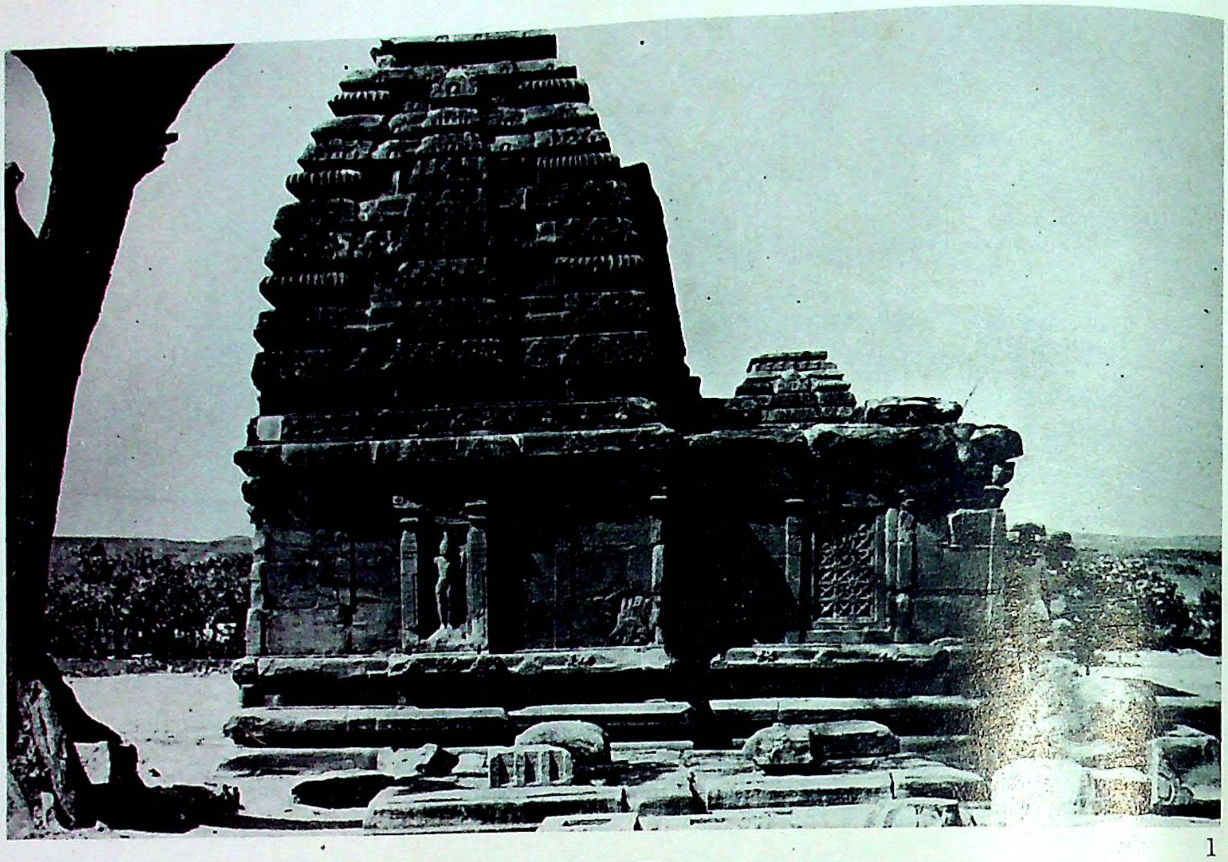
Kashivishvanatha Temple

Built uncomfortably close to the Mallikarjuna temple, this building probably belongs to the period after the Early Western Chalukya collapse in the middle of the eighth century, though it is clearly related to the other temples at the site. The superstructure displays the fully evolved northern style: the mesh-like design found on the central band of the Galaganatha temple tower here completely covers the surface of the tower, divided into recessed planes rising continuously from the base of the walls. A reduced and rectangular columned hall to the east is surmounted by a large horse-shoe arch. The niches on the outer walls may be compared to those from the Papanatha temple. The interior is richly decorated.

Papanatha Temple

In many respects this temple is unique – two columned halls lead to the sanctuary, probably originally conceived as a detached structure and only later enclosed by walls to create an unusually confined ambulatory passageway. The northern features in this temple are seen in the mouldings surmounting the sculpture panels, derived from 'split' horse-shoe arched forms, and the three porches sheltering pierced stone windows flanking sculpture panels. The superstructure is also typically northern being similar to the towers of the Jambulinga and Kadasiddheshvara temples at the same site. The southern features are recognised in the parapet above the walls and the carved doorways which have foliated aquatic monsters perched on pilasters. Running around the outer walls and on the columns of the east porch are friezes illustrating episodes from the great Hindu epics, the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. Inside the temple is richly decorated, exuberant foliation typical of the last phase of Early Western Chalukya art.

– GEORGE MICHELL



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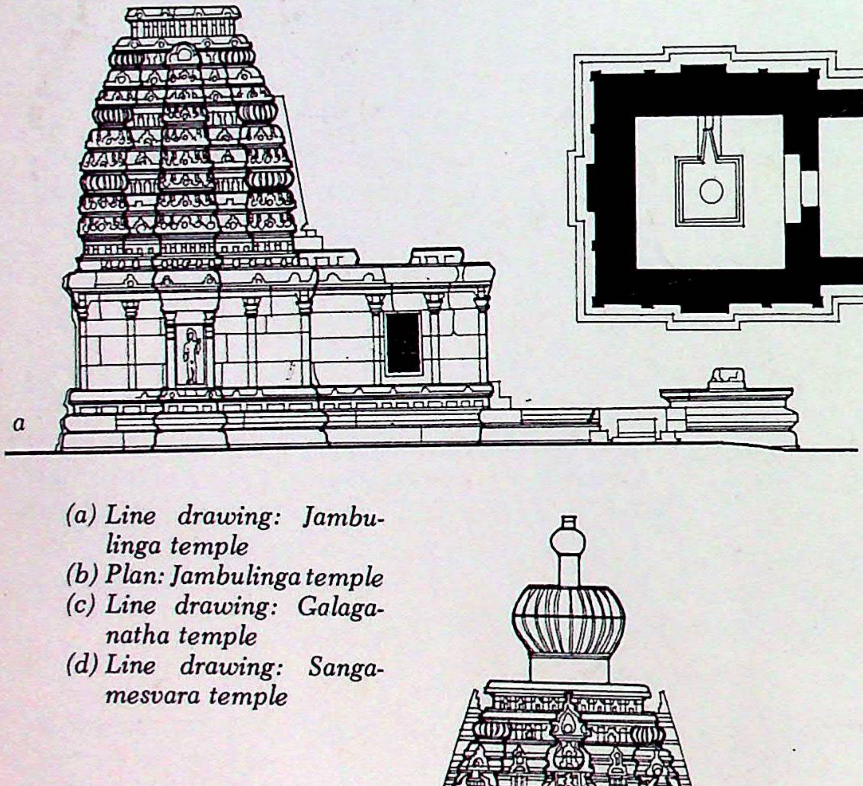
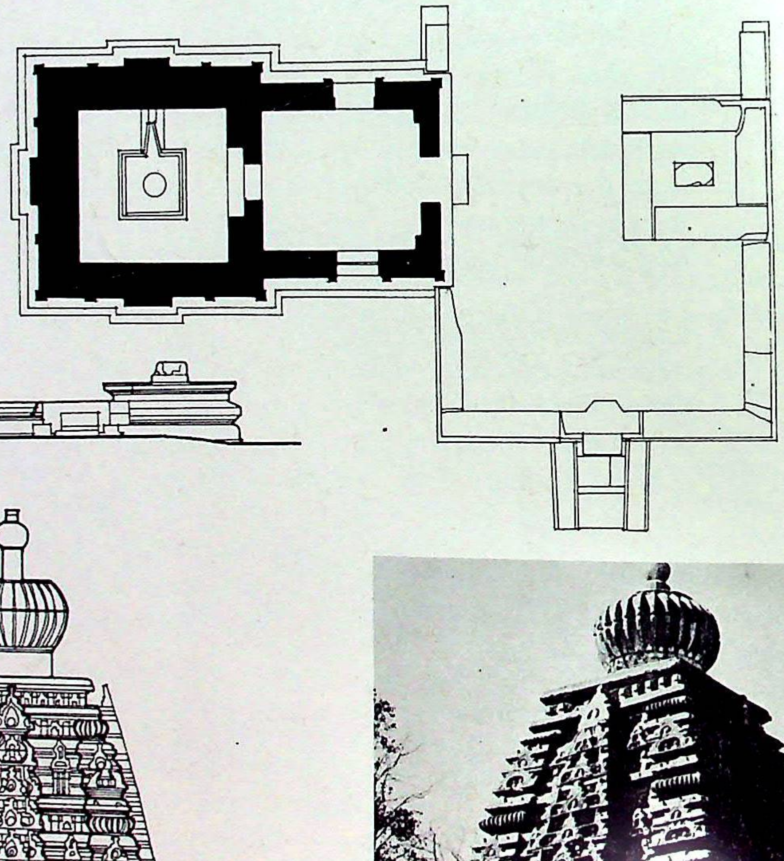
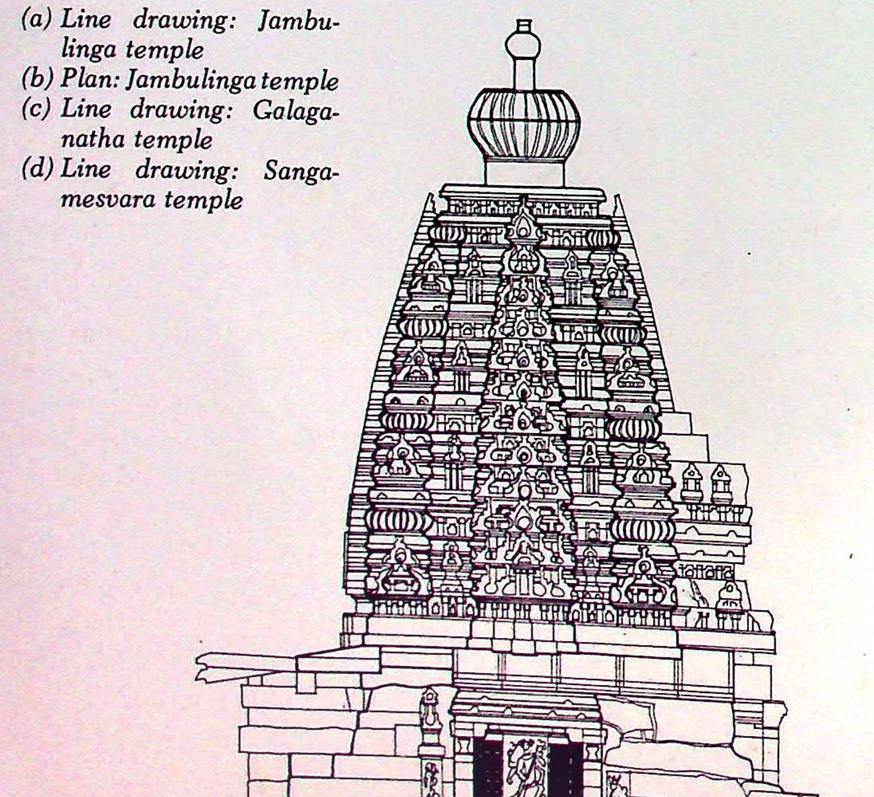
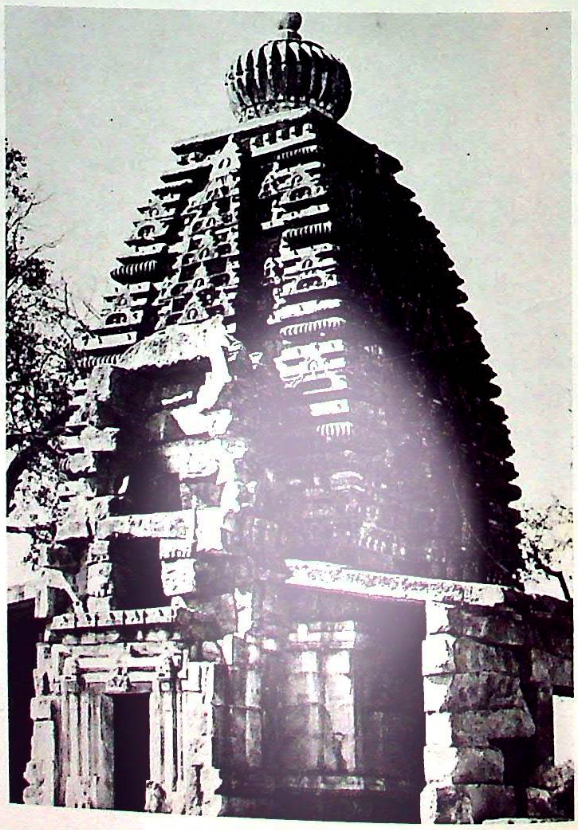




(a) Line drawing: Jambulinga temple
(b) Plan: Jambulinga temple
(c) Line drawing: Galaganatha temple
(d) Line drawing: Sangamesvara temple





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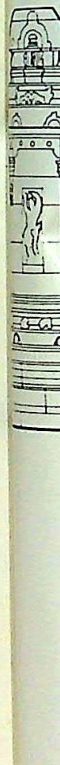

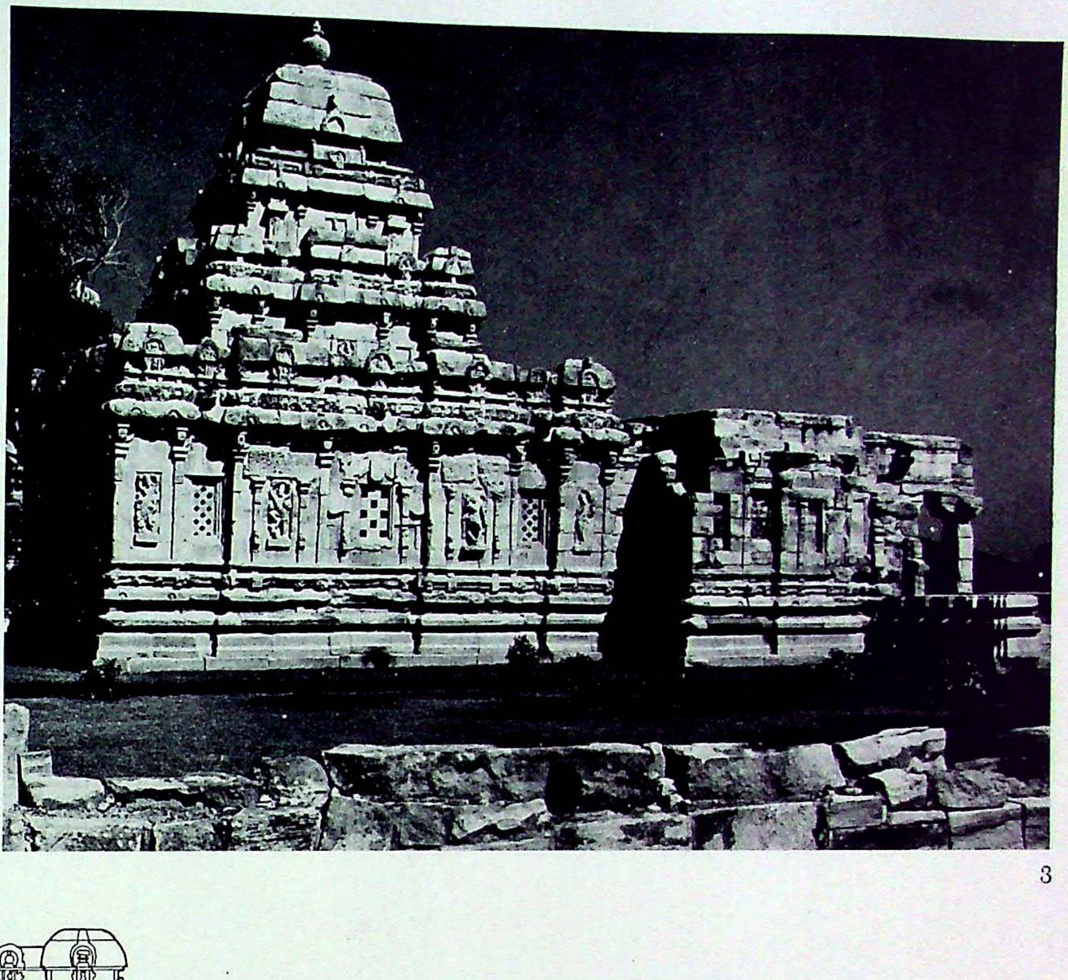

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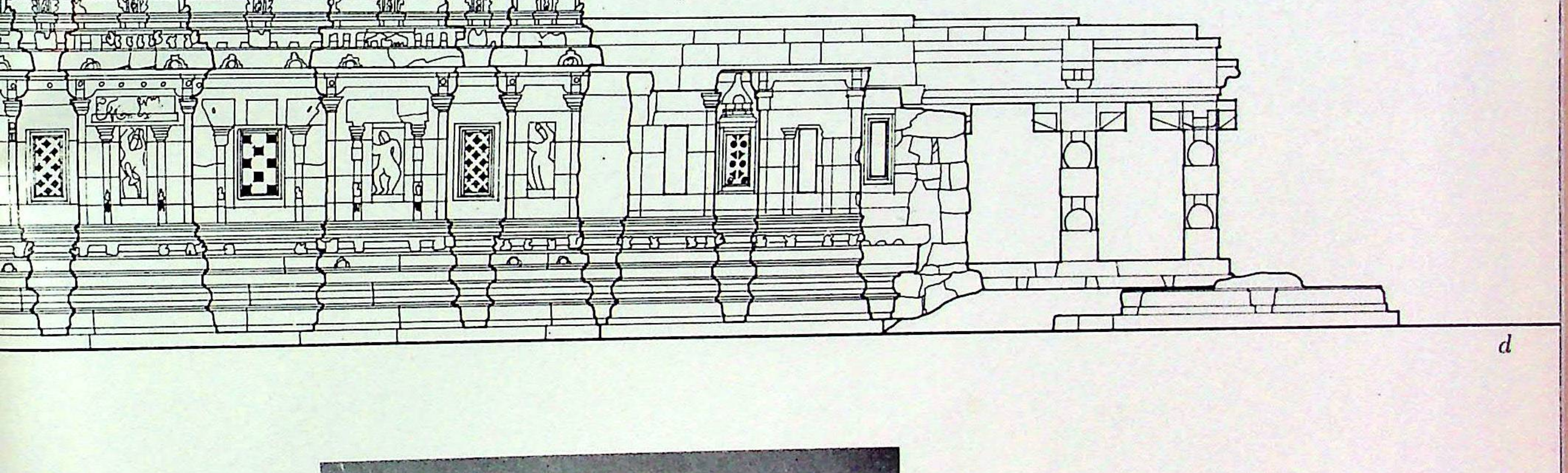

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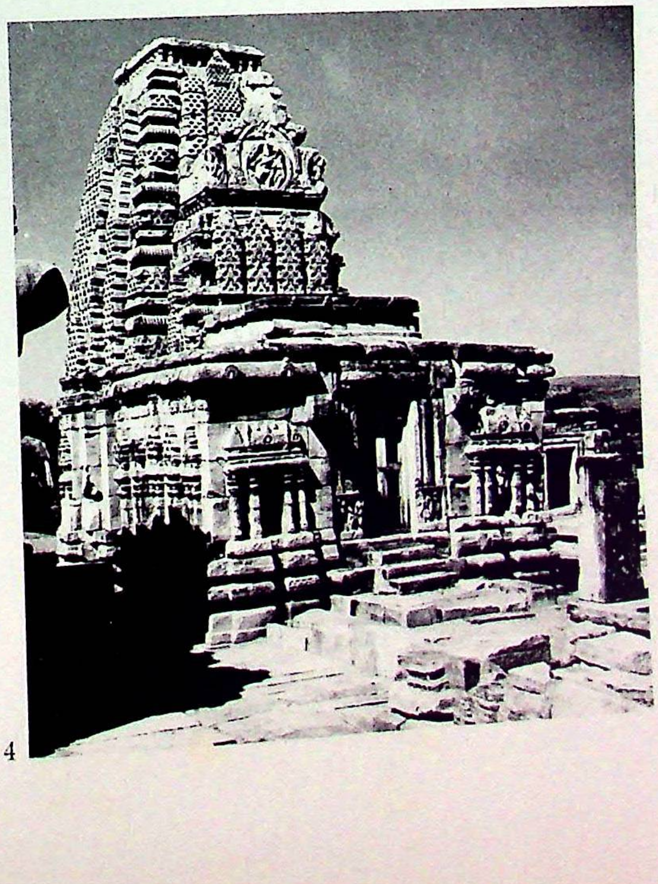

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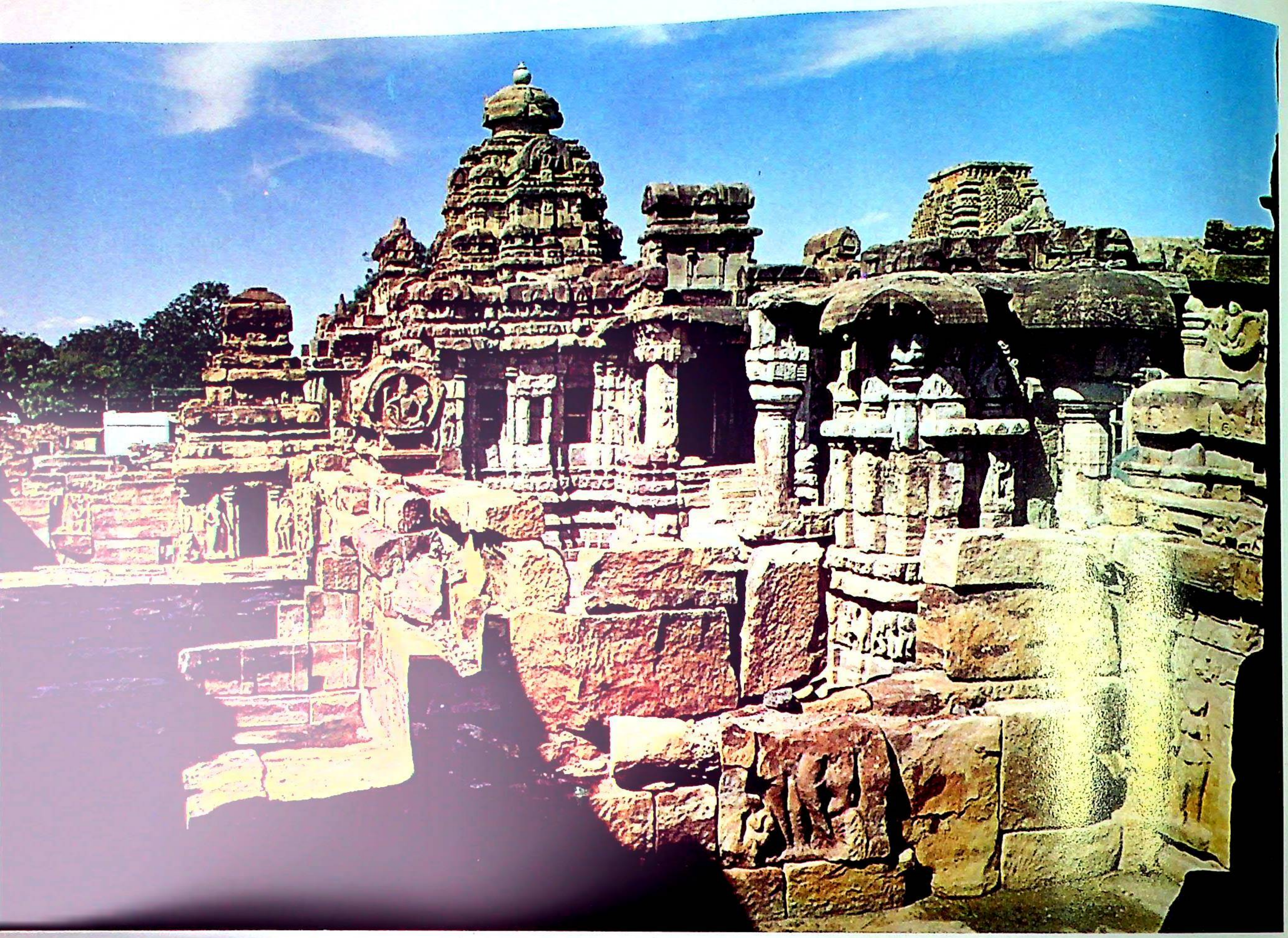
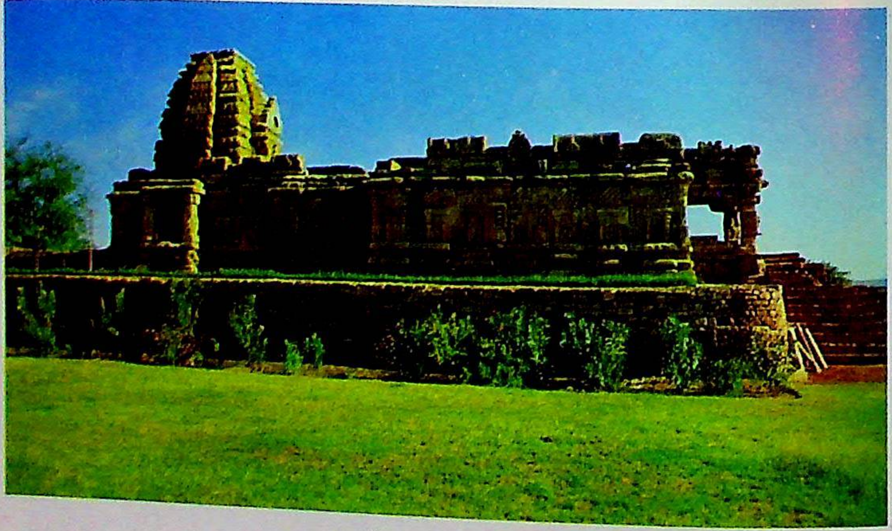
1. *The small structural temple, the Jambulinga, is typical of the attempted fusion of the southern layers with the northern style* sikhara.
2. *The Galaganatha shrine seems to have close relationship with the Alampur temples. The* sikhara *is in good condition but the edges of the structure below suggest that it was perhaps never completed.*
3. *The Sangameshvara seems to be an incomplete structure. Built in the time of Vijayaditya, it is an architectural mixture. The columned hall may be a later addition onto the sanctuary of the late eighth century A.D.*
4. *The Kashivishvanatha shrine of the eighth century A.D. has a richly decorative exterior and interior. A mesh-like design embellishes the bands on the fully evolved northern style* sikhara.



5. The Mallikarjuna is said to commemorate a Chalukya victory over the Pallavas at Kanchipuram in the early eighth century. The inspiration seems to have come from the chief queen of Vikramaditya. The magnificent gateway from the river side carries inscriptions. The view here is a projection from the rear.

6. The Papanatha is situated a little distance away from the main Pattadakal site. It is remarkable for the five friezes depicting episodes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The high plinth elevates the temple and creates a great effect on the pilgrim.



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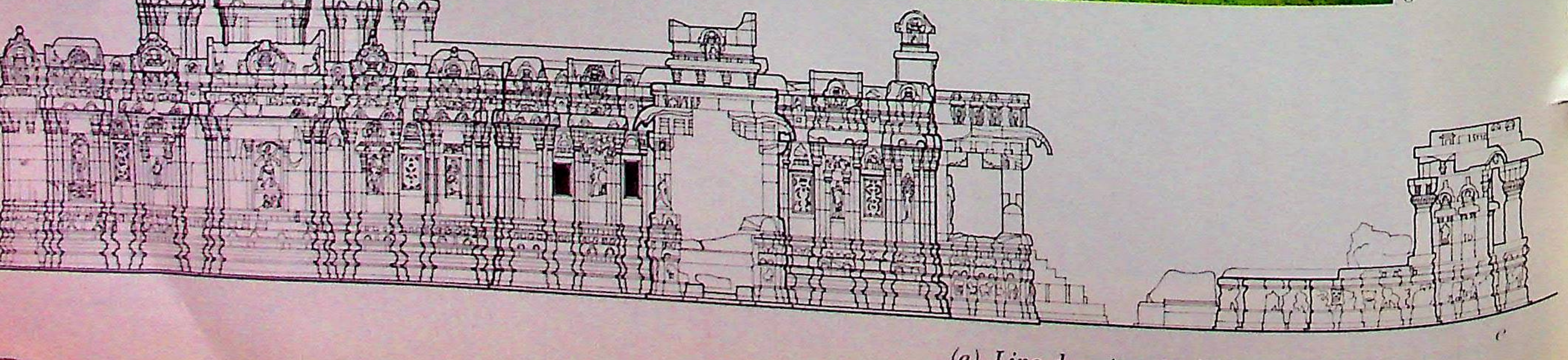
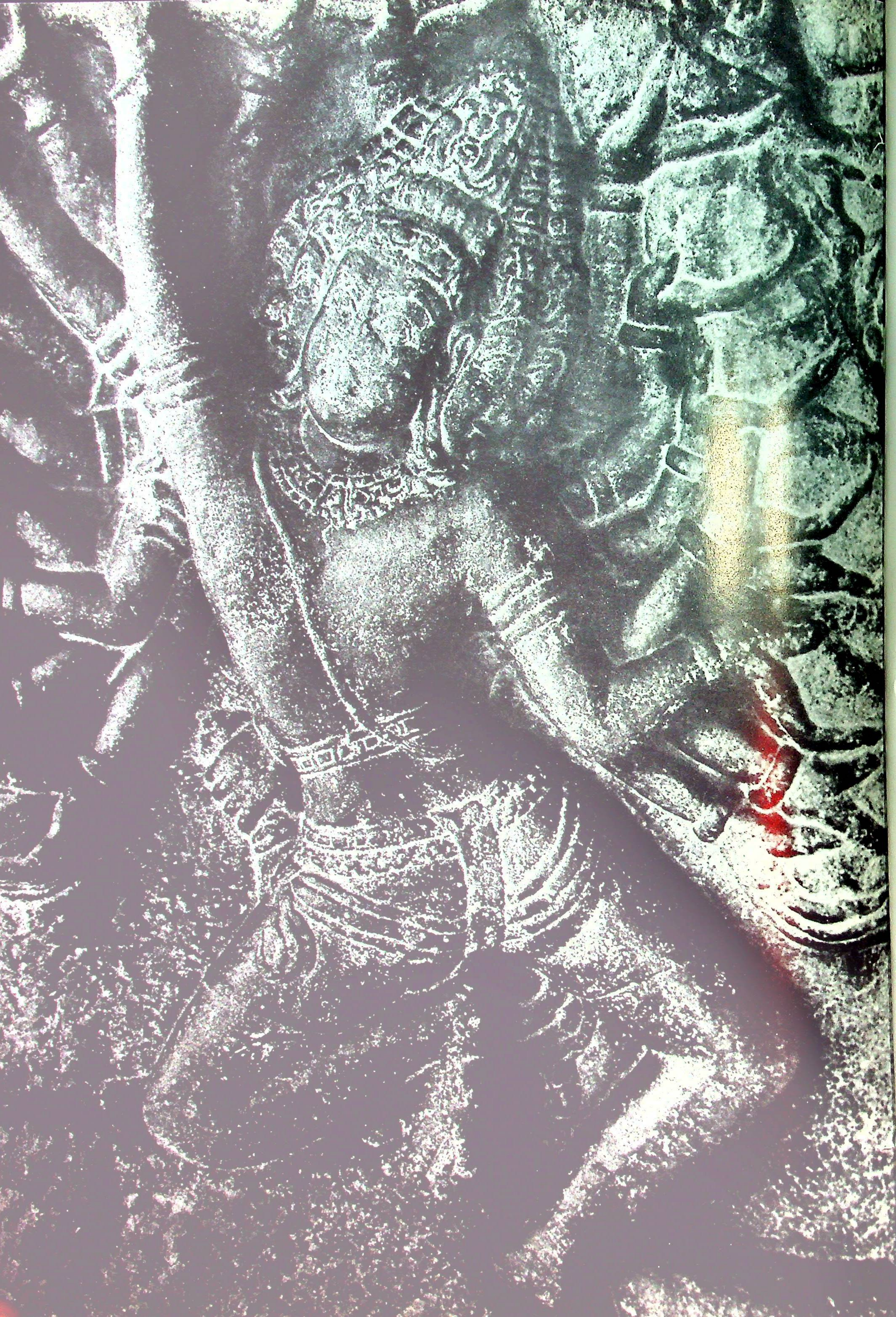


(e) Line drawing: Mallikarjuna temple.

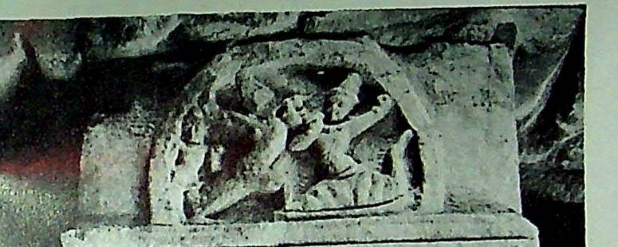


7. *The relief sculpture of Shiva crushing the fat dwarf and dancing joyously is a primitivist incarnation exuding force from the weight of the arms and the legs. Unlike most other Nataraj figures it is an experiment by a lesser master craftsman—in expressionism by which the sculptor tried to achieve effects by sheer dramatic representation.*

8. *The theme of Ravana shaking the throne of Shiva and Parvati on Mount Kailasa had already been rendered in Ellora in a masterly manner. This relief in Pattadakal, which does not show the god and goddess, dramatises Ravana is his energetic effort to shake the throne achieving its effect of the vigorous figure by the movement of the arms and the hands and the twist of the body which shows the back of the legs in an ingenious turn seldom seen elsewhere.*

9. *On the porch of the Virupaksha Temple, the sculptor has chosen to do reliefs. The loving couple, possibly donors are cylindrical figures poised in an affectionate stance.*

10. *Sculptures on the column, Mallikarjuna temple.*



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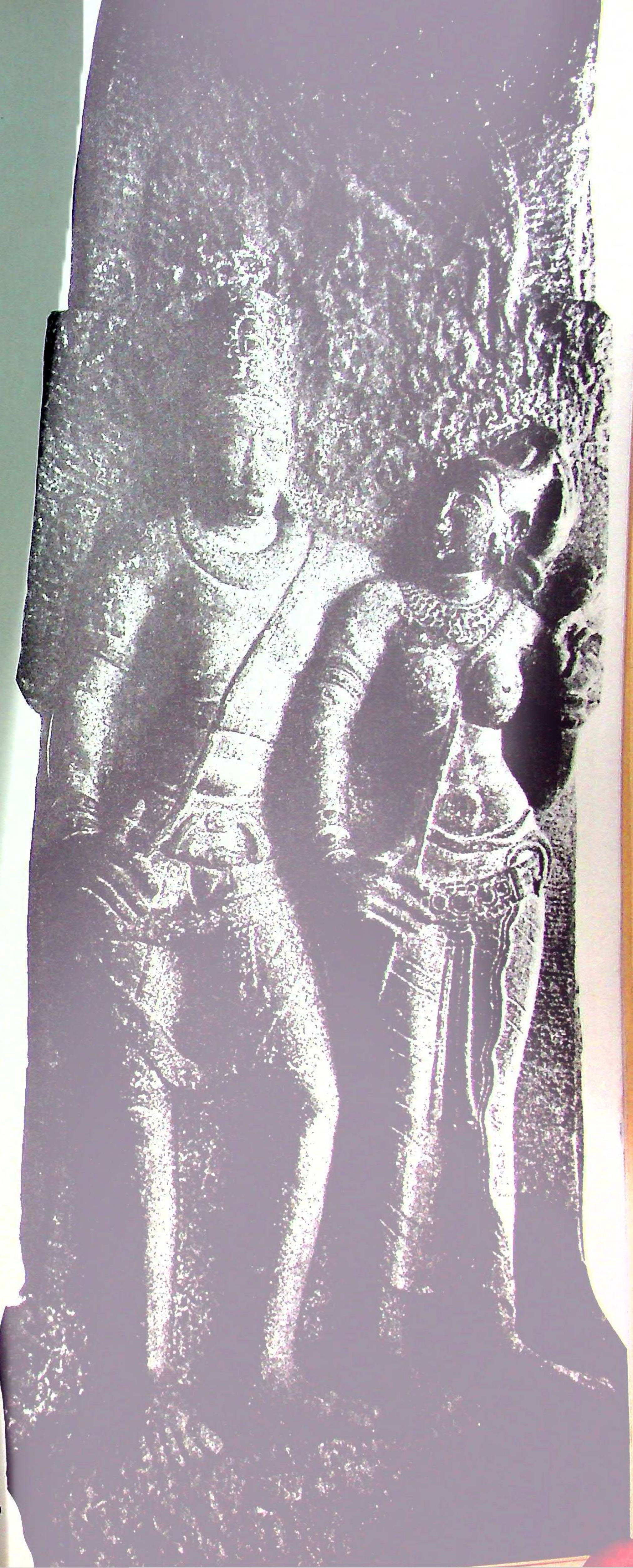

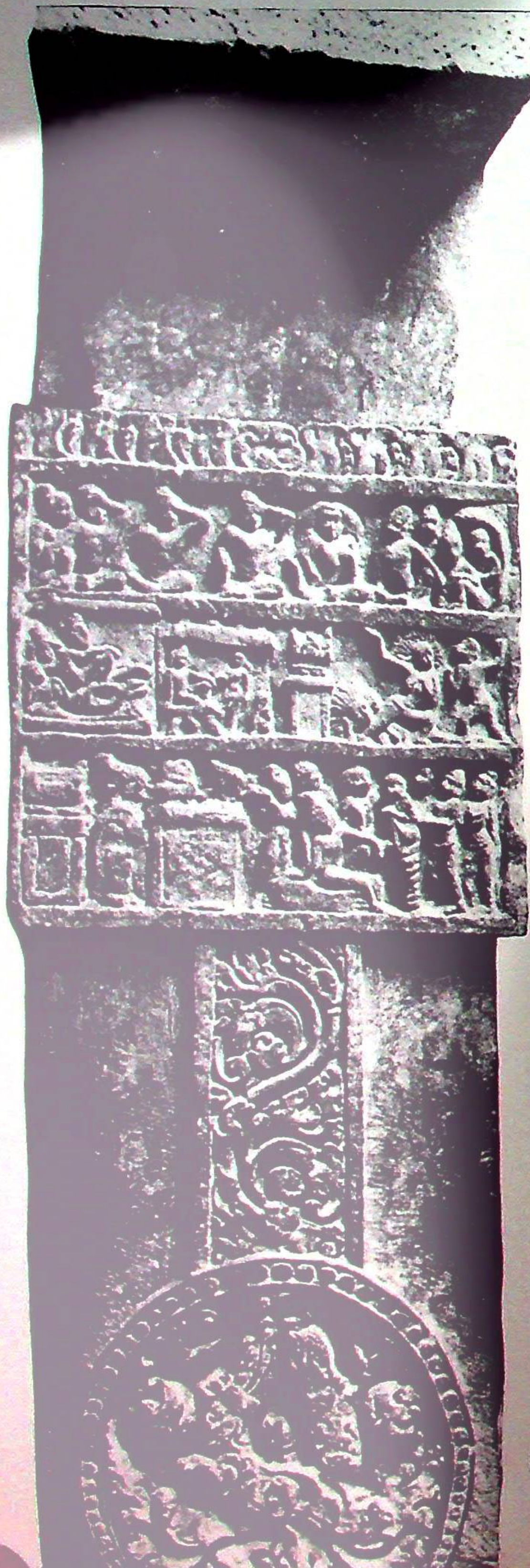

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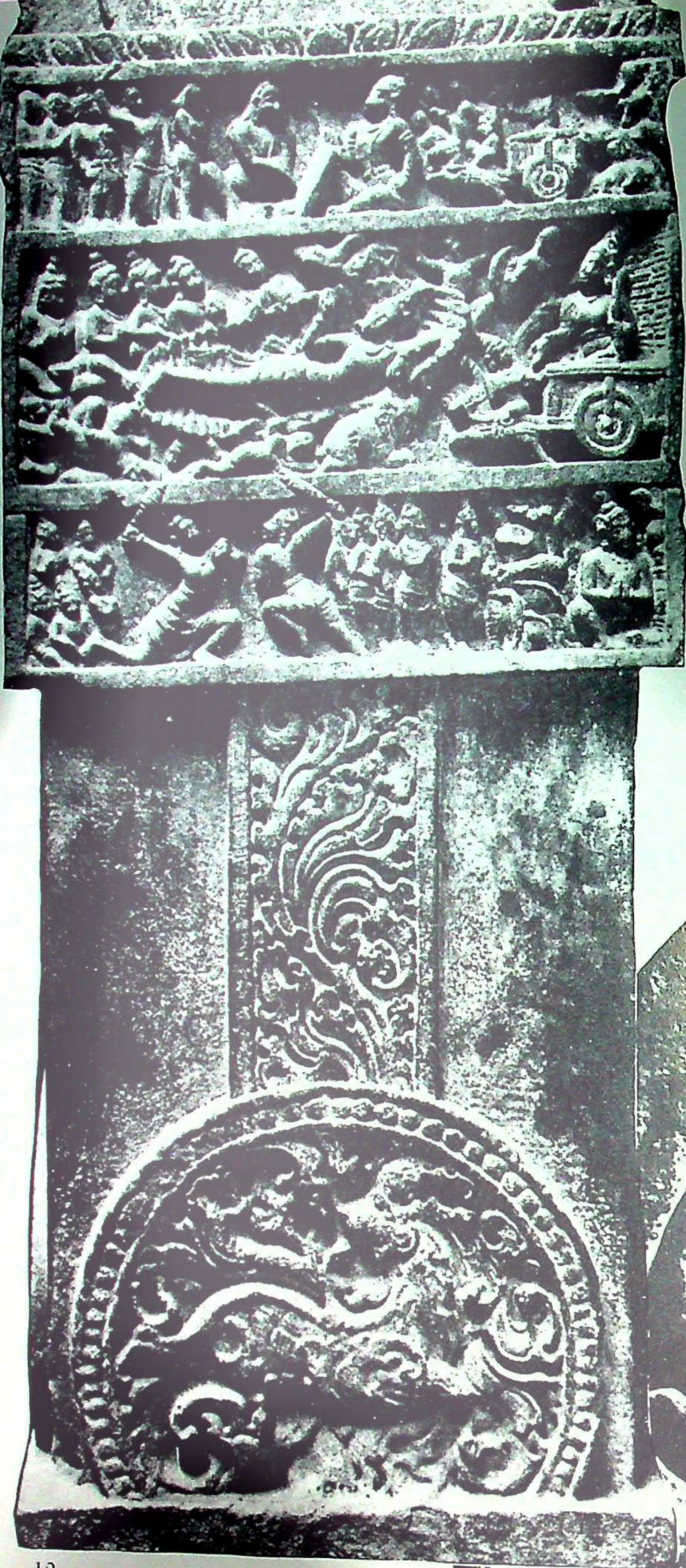

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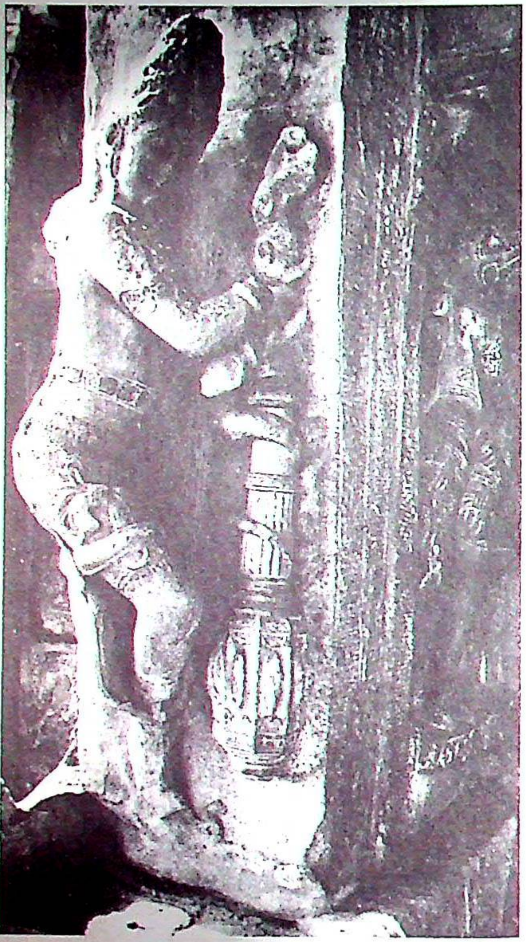
13

11-13 *Sculptures on the columns of Virupaksha temple. The pillars in Pattadakal are often embellished by miniature relief work showing the extension of the garlands of Barhut and Sanchi which evolved into the curvacious blinding line in Amarvati and Nagarjunakonda. The decorative medallions inset here and there are reminiscent of Amaravati. The iconography mostly Hindu by the dramatic intent of each scene is sustained.*



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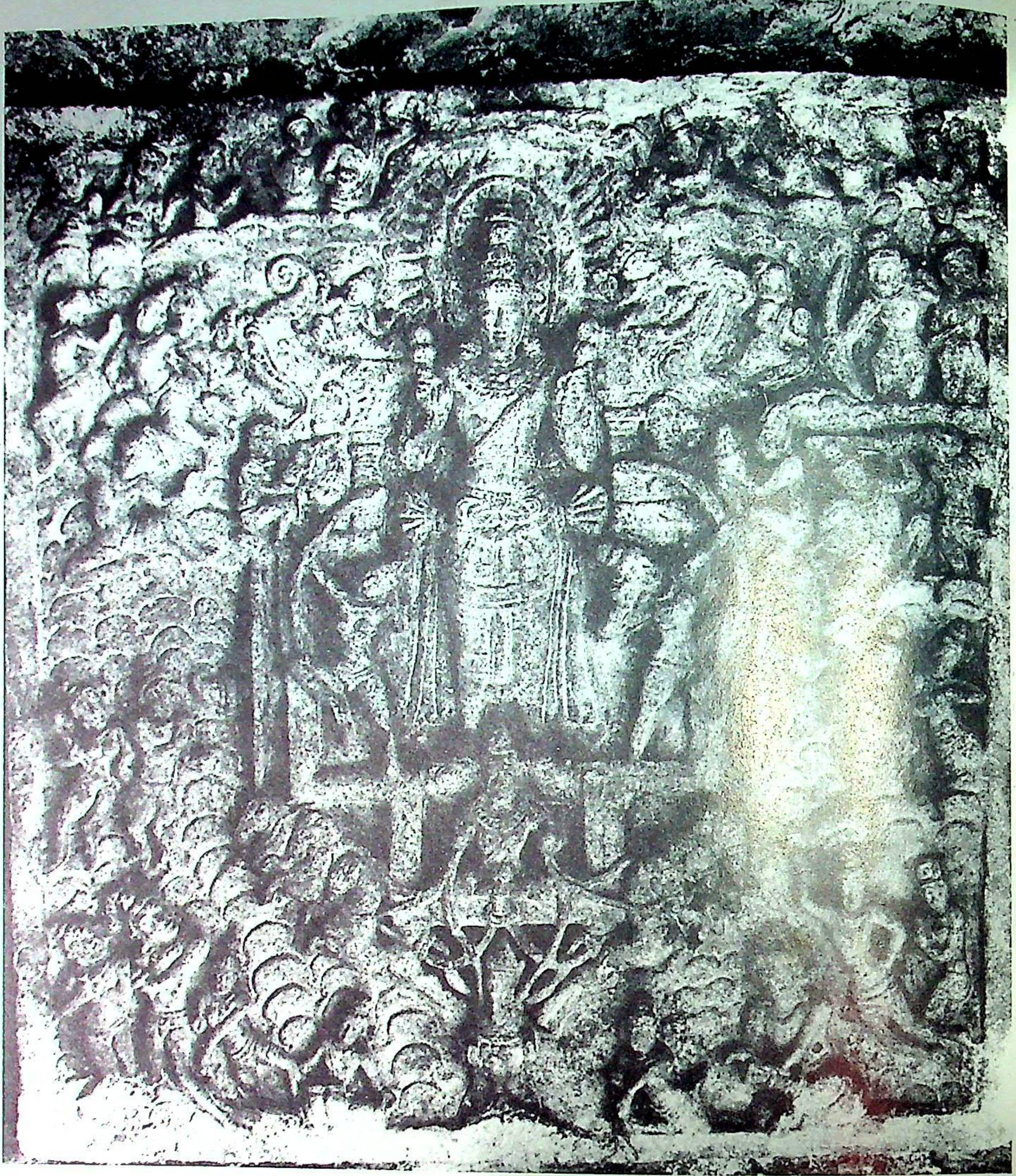

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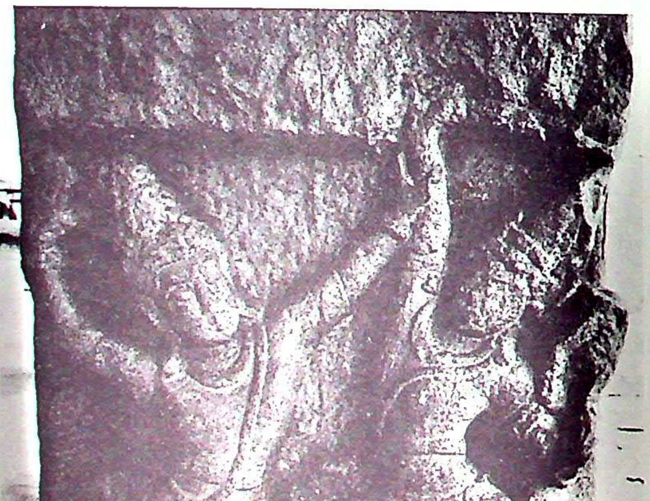

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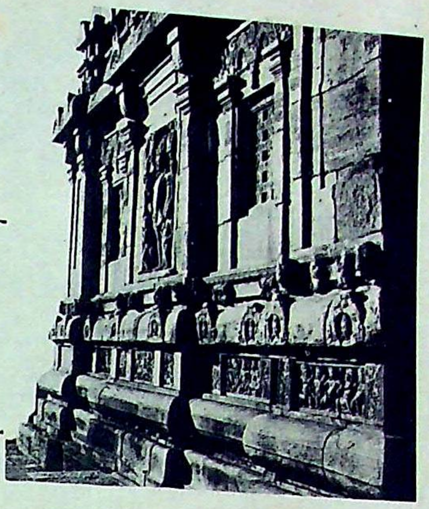
14. *South porch column, Virupaksha temple. The dwarpala relief figure on the pillar portrays some nobleman with refined features and elegant body. Here, as elsewhere, the Indian carver is carrying out a tradition, well established by the time Pattadakal shrines were built, of evoking so much vital sculpture from so much bare rock.*
15. *A ceiling panel, porch, Virupaksha temple. The intricate composition of Surya riding a chariot, on the ceiling, is a highly intricate, incisive embellishment carried out with utmost skill as it achieves a coherence almost as in a painting.*
16. *Porch column, Virupaksha temple. The verve of the figures of the two wrestlers is indicated by the intertwining of the legs and the pressing forward of the bodies.*

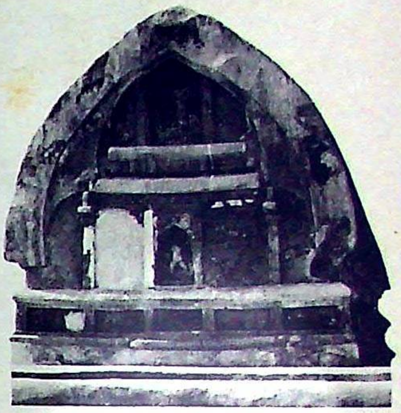
Glossary *



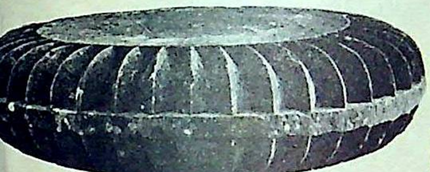
2. BHITTI

1. ADHISHTHANA

4. CHAITYA FAÇADE

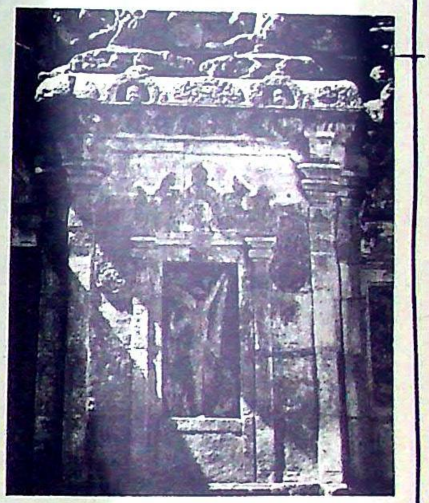


3. AMALAKA



5. DEVAKOSHTHA : *Niche on wall of shrines and mandapas containing sculpture of deity; crowned by a variety of elements.*

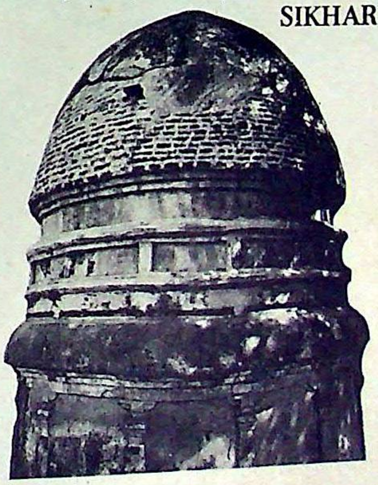
6. GAJAPRISHTA (VESARA SIKHARA); *Shrine superstructure with form resembling the hind quarters of an elephant.*



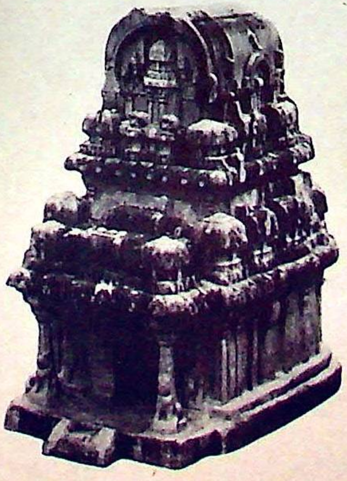
5. DEVAKOSHTHA

1. ADHISHTHANA : *Basement, consisting of distinct, moulded tiers; supports the wall.*
2. BHITTI : *Wall of temple, enclosing the shrine and mandapa (hall).*
3. AMALAKA : *Ribbed, flattened, circular element crowning the top of the northern style* sikhara
4. CHAITYA FAÇADE : *The front end of the apsidal* sikhara *in imitation of timber originals.*

6a GAJAPRISHTA (VESARA SIKHARA)



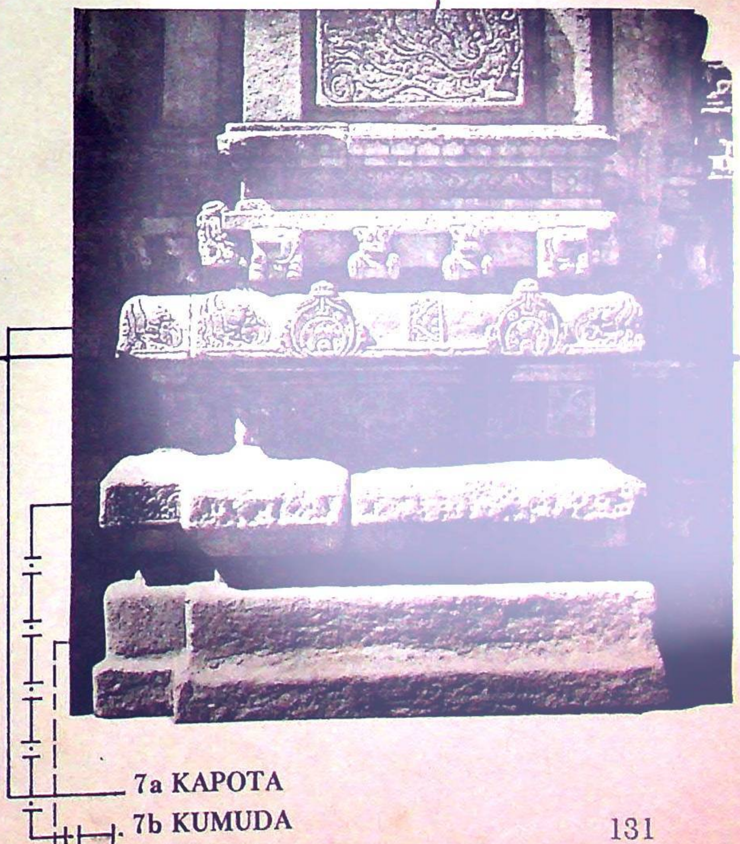
6b. GAJAPRISHTA (VESARA SIKHARA)



7*a* KAPOTA : *Cornice moulding, usually flexed, employed in plinth and cornice, but also known in the superstructure.*

7*b* KUMUDA : *One of the intermediary mouldings of the plinth. It takes a variety of forms presenting part of an octagon, a sphere, a sphere divided into a number of plane facets or a profile resembling a vase.*

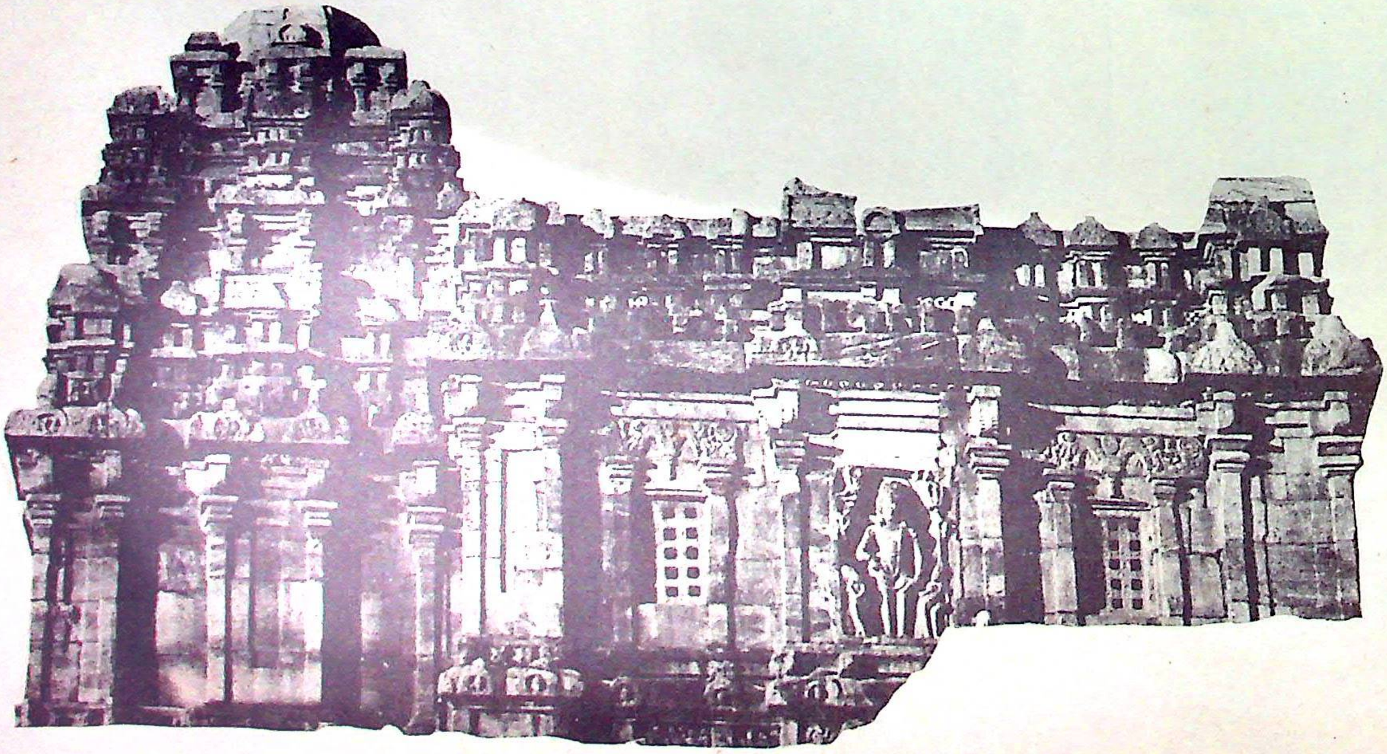
7*c* UPANA : *Lowest moulding of the plinth, having a rounded shoulder and stepped foot.*



7a KAPOTA

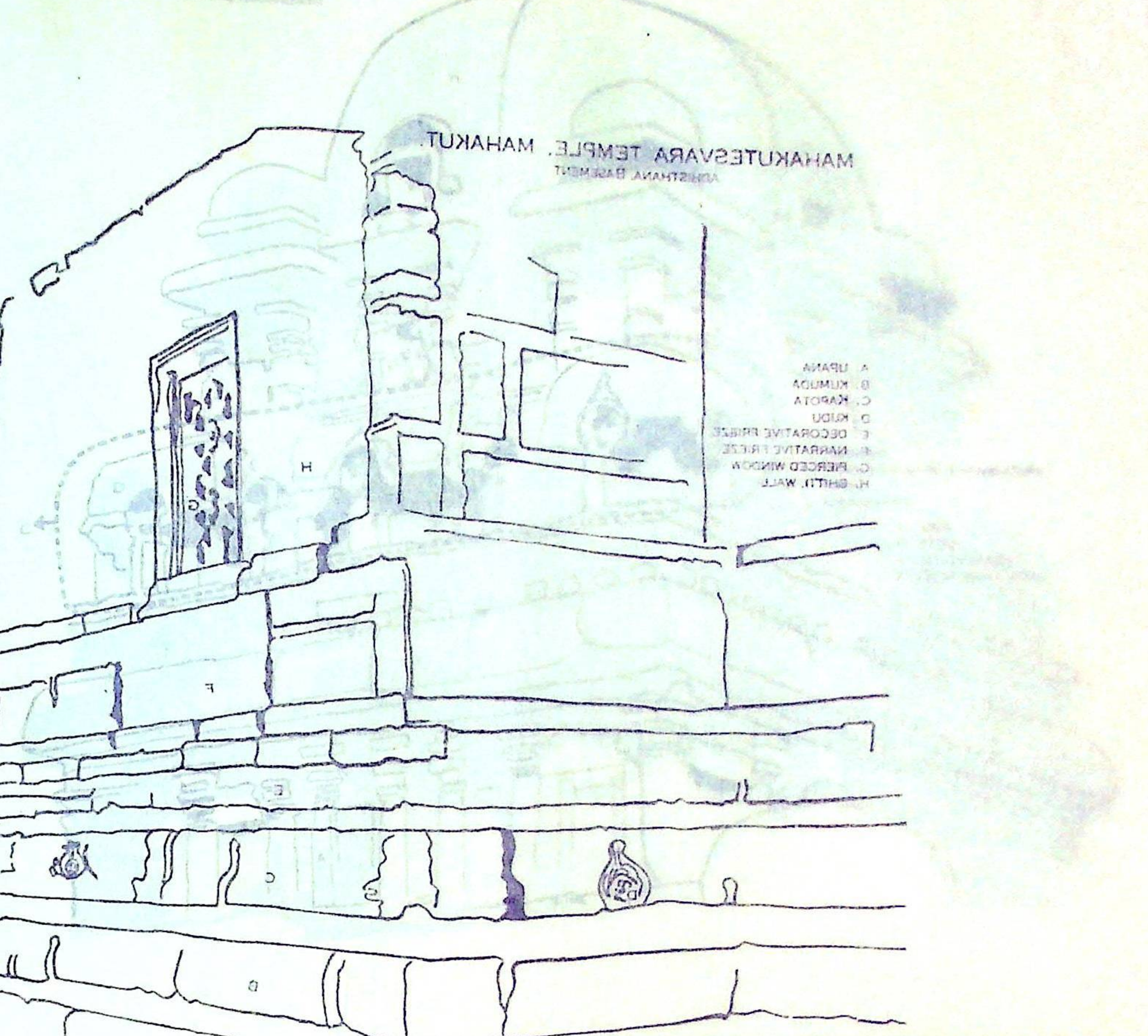
7b KUMUDA

7c UPANA

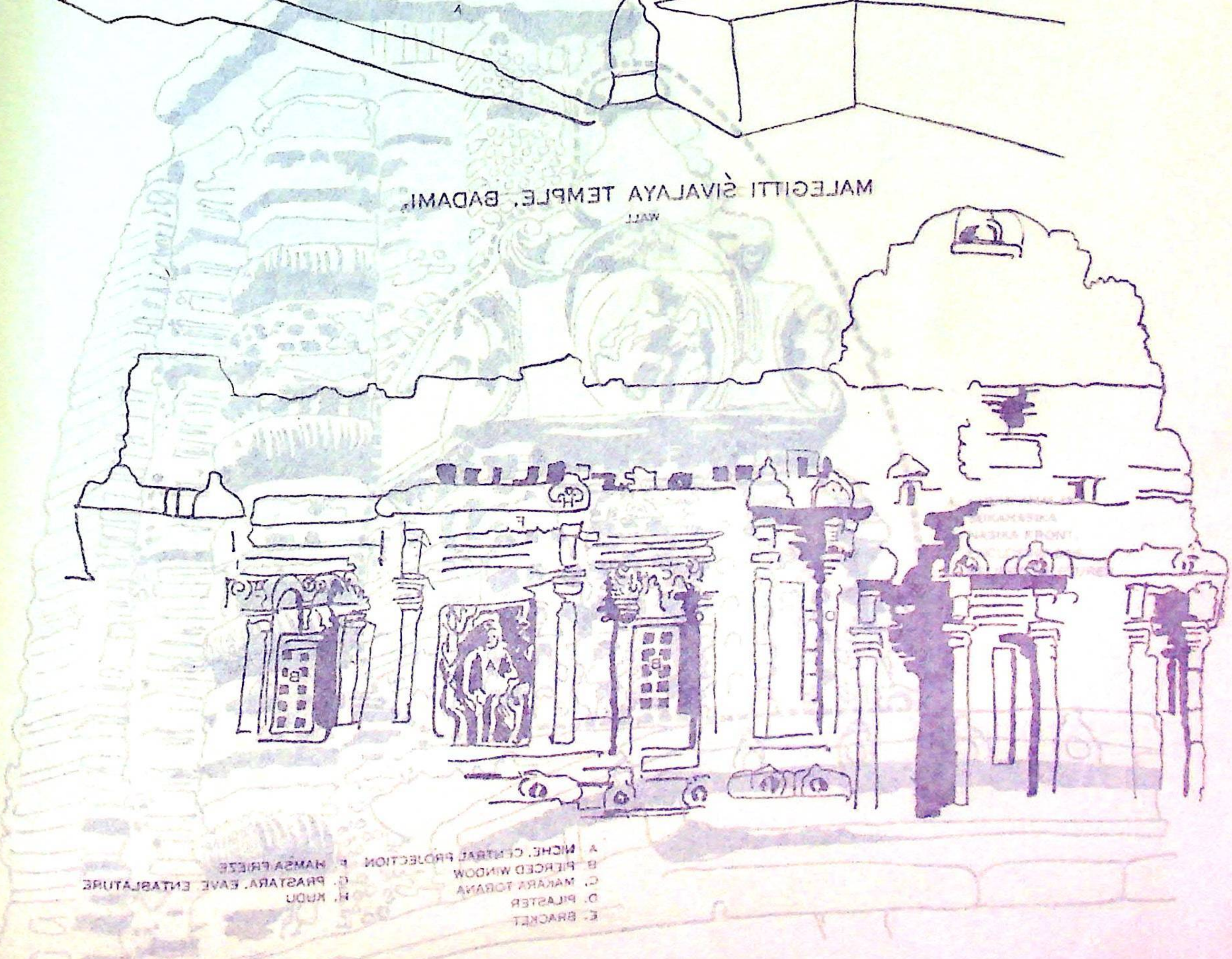


MALLIKARJUNA TEMPLE, MAHAKUT

SUPERSTRUCTURE (DRAVIDIAN)



KASIVISVESVARA TEMPLE, PATTADKAL



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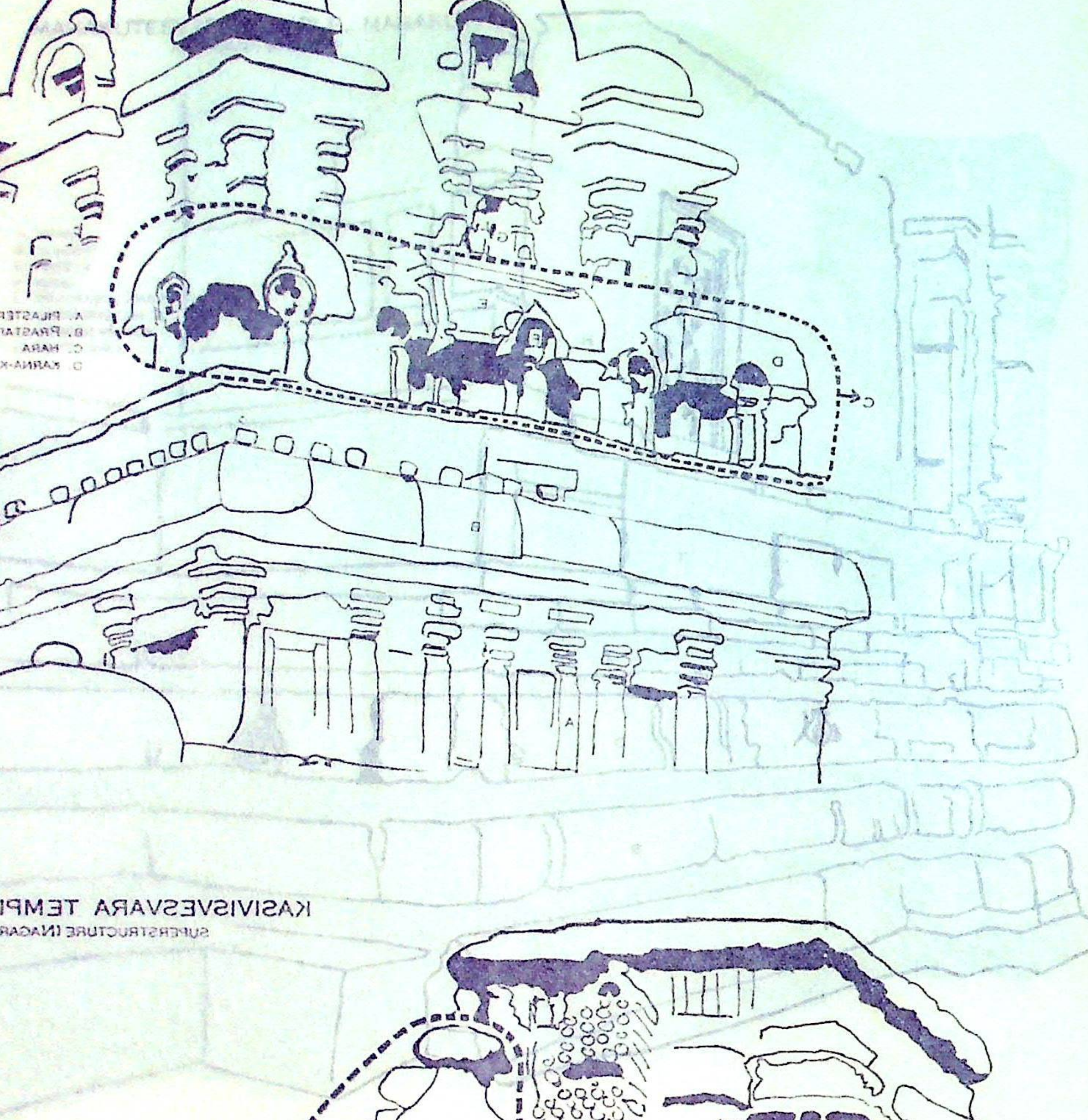
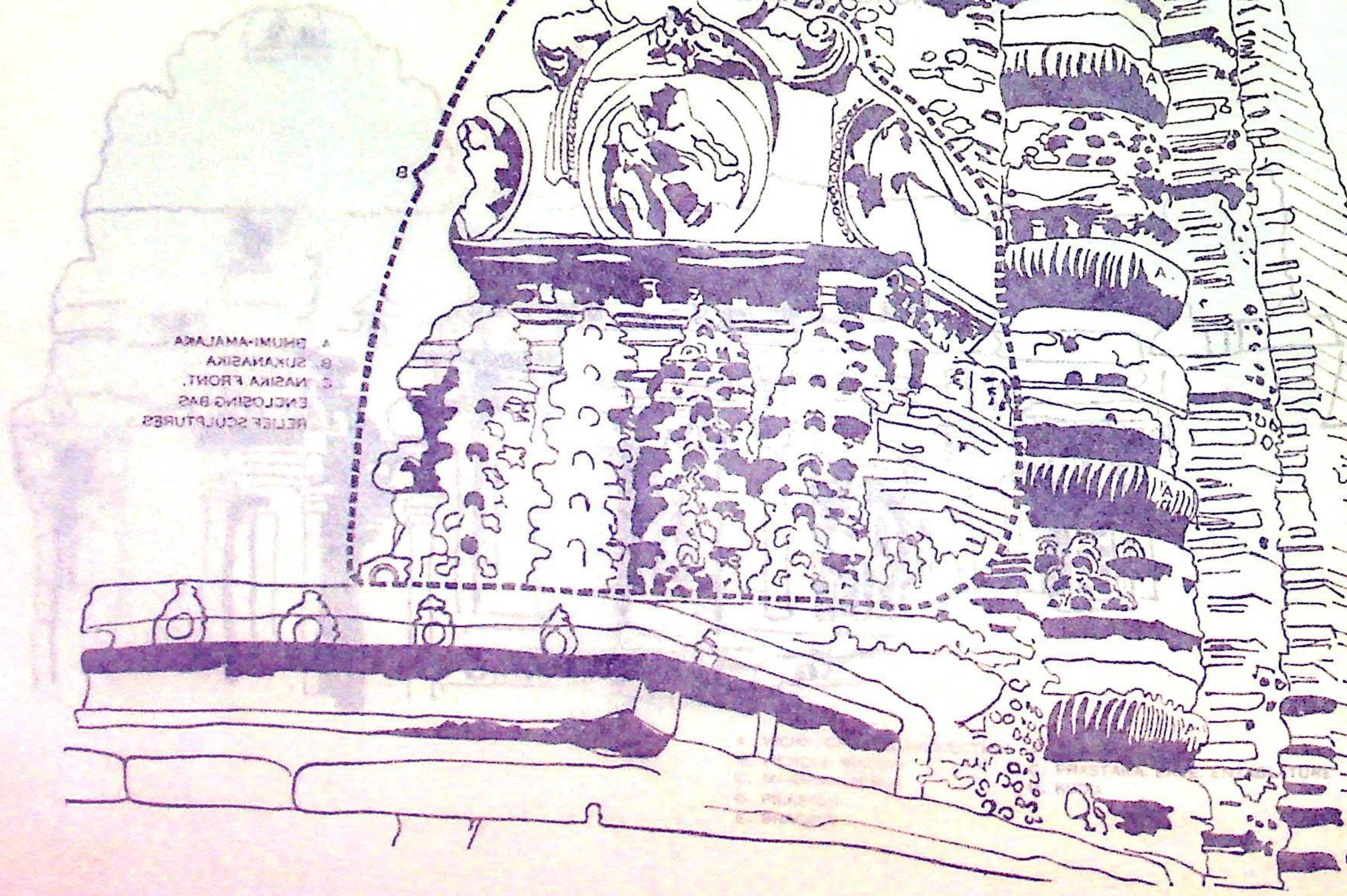
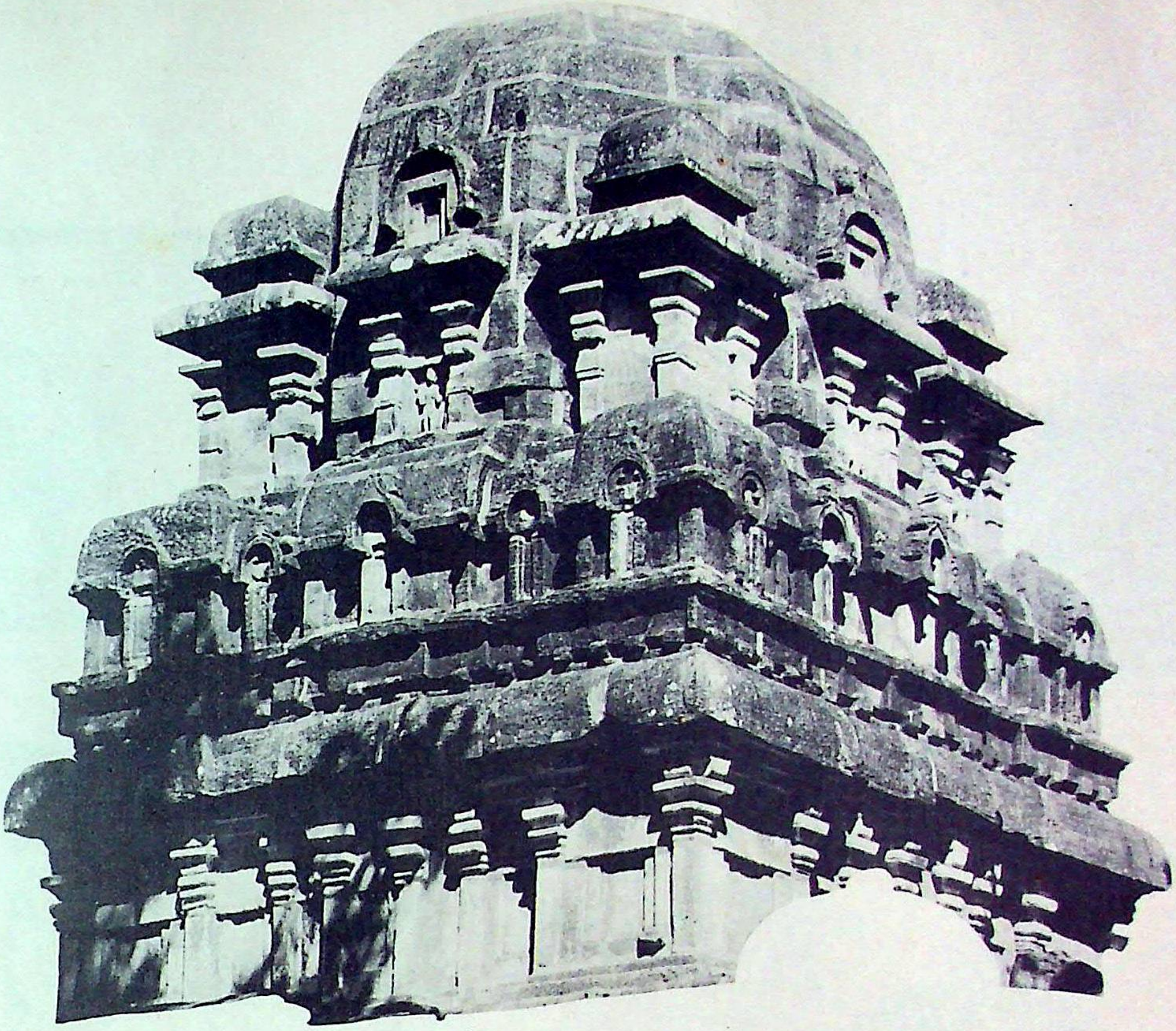
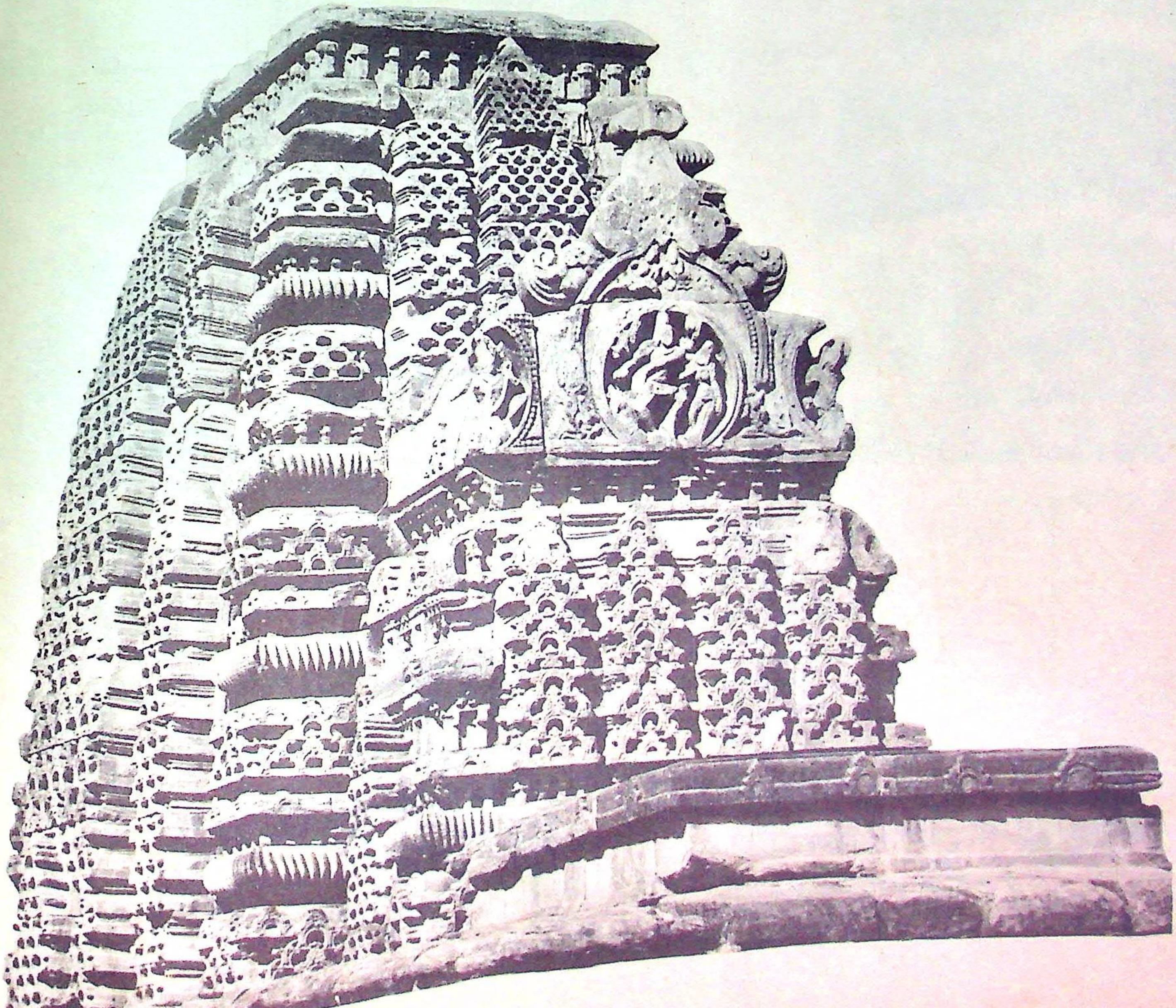


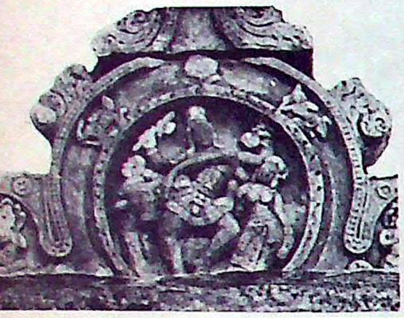
MALEGITTI ŚIVALAYA TEMPLE, BADAMI


PRASTARA, EAVE, ENTABLATURE





8. KUDU



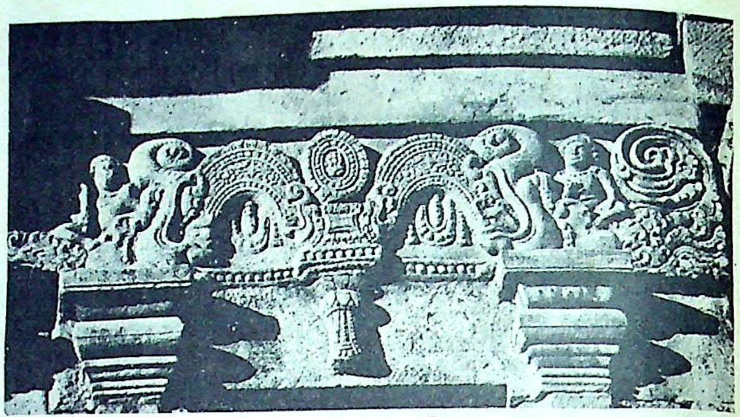
8. KUDU : *Arched or horse-shoe shaped ornament, originally perhaps intended for the entry of roosting birds; sometimes decorated with human figures.*

9. KARNAKUTA : Kuta—*Shrine of square plan, four-sided with converging roof and single finial (stupi);* Karnakuta—Kuta *at the corner of each storey (tala).*

10. MAKARA TORANA : *Arched, decorative form issuing out of the mouth of makaras, surmounting wall niches, portals, panels etc.*

11. PURNAGHATA : *The brimming vases, symbolizing plenty.*

10. MAKARA TORANA

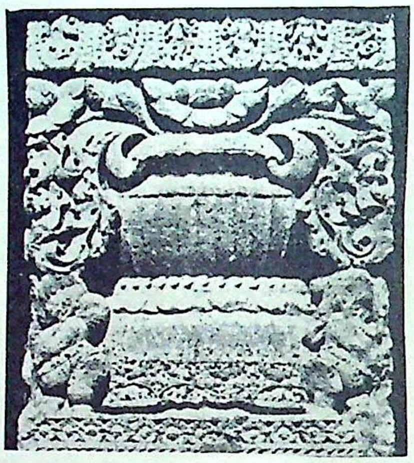


12. SIKHARA : *(a) The entire superstructure of northern prasadas.*

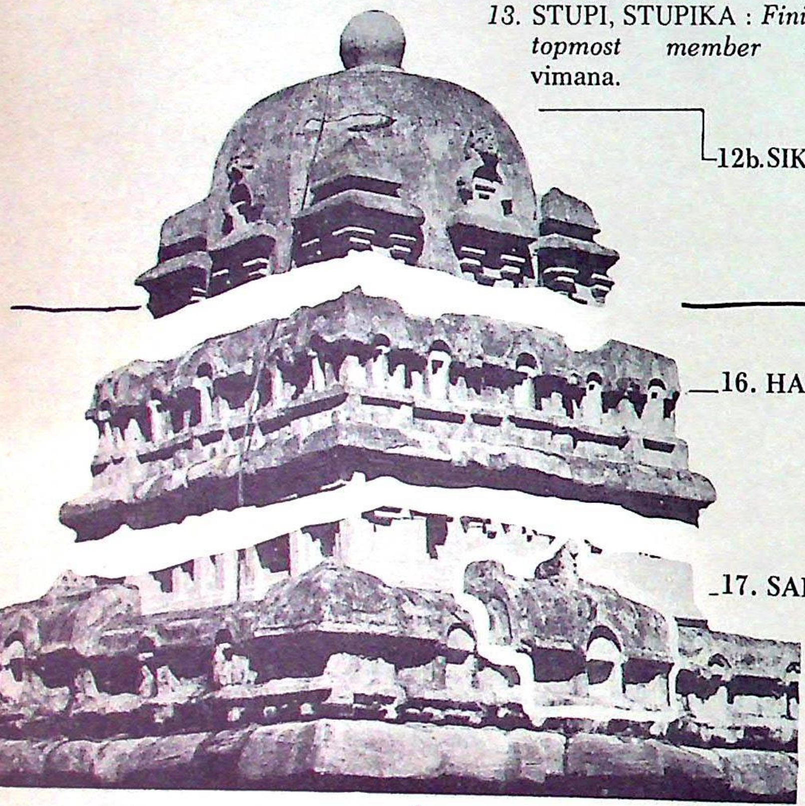
b, c In Dravidian temples, the roof of the superstructure, domical or four-sided, with a single finial.

13. STUPI, STUPIKA : *Finial, topmost member of* vimana.

11. PURNAGHATA



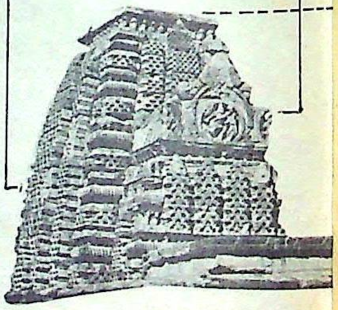
13. STUPI, STUPIKA



17. SALA : *Oblong, wagon-topped miniature shrine in the centre of each* hara.

18. PRASTARA : *The entablature over the mandapa wall. It includes the architectural parts coming over the beam and including it.*

*References include K. R. Srinivasan : *Temples of South India* George Michell : *Early Western Chalukyan Temples.*



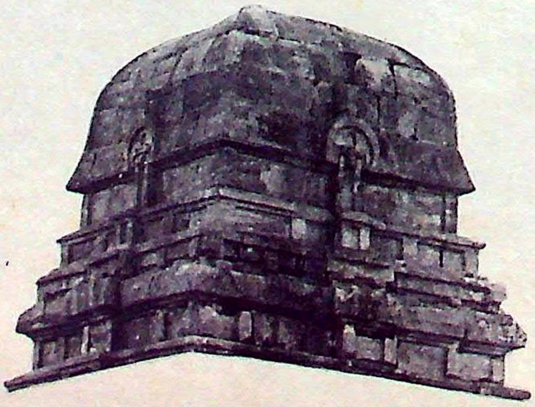
9. KARNAKUTA

14. BHUMI-AMALAKA : *In northern style temples the miniature compressed amalaka which deliniates certain courses at the corners of the superstructure.*

15. SUKANASA or SUKANASIKA : *Forward projection found over ardha mandapa (corridor in front of the shrine) and forming its roof.*

16. HARA : *String of miniature shrines over each terrace (tala) of the storeyed vimana consisting of kutas, karnakutas and salas.*

12c SIKHARA



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